Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200 - 1550 A.D.)

(Mainly based on Islamic Sources)

By Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf

INDUS PUBLICATIONS
25, FARID CHAMBERS, ABDULLA HAROON ROAD.
KARACHI
1978

REPRINTED BY
SAFDAR MEHDI
INDUS PUBLICATIONS, KARACHI

Printed by
A. HAMEED PRINTING PRESS
Karachi.

CONTENTS.

	Pages
INTRODUCTION	03
PART I : POLITICAL CONDITION.	
The 'Sultanat' and its reactions on Muslim Society	26
The personality of the monarch—	
A. The Sultān as a private person	46
B. The Sultān as a public person	57
The Court	62
The privileged and other social classes	70
PART II : ECONOMIC CONDITION.	
Rural life	96
Industries and commerce	105
The standards of life	125
PART III : SOCIAL CONDITION.	
Domestic life	138
Social and domestic comforts	163
Amusements and recreations	184
Manners	208
Hindūstān on the eve of Akbar	228
APPENDICES :—A. Some general data	236
B. The chronology of the Sultāns of Delhi. ..	244
C. Bibliography	246
INDEX	255

INTRODUCTION.

A. The scope of treatment.

An attempt has been made in the following pages to present a sketch of social life in Hindūstān under the Muslim Sultāns of Delhi before the establishment of the Mughal Empire under Akbar. The choice of territory and of the period requires a word of explanation.

THE TERRITORY—HINDŪSTĀN.

In spite of their fairly good knowledge of the Indian and the Chinese sea coast, the Arab geographers of the eighth century were very vague in dealing with the lands of India and

China (Hind and Chīn). The land beyond the Indus (or the *Sind* of the Arabs) was little explored and China was believed to be situated in an undefined region to the north and the north-east of Sind, without, however, calculating the impenetrable walls of the Himālayas. In fact, many centuries afterwards, the attack of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq on the hills of Kumāon (called *Qarājal*) was supposed to encroach upon some region of the Chinese Peninsula. Similarly, when Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī invaded northern Bengal or Assam, he actually imagined he was leading an invasion into Turkistān. The western world roughly divided India into three regions: one up to the Indus, second between the Indus and the Ganges, and the third beyond these two regions. Even so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, John Frampton had no better idea of the country beyond the west coast of India and to the north of the Deccan than that this ' third India, which is the hygh India is surnamed Malabar and dothe extend unto Cauch, which is the river Gange ',[1] that there grew plenty of ' sinamon and pearle ', and that the king and the people of this country worshipped ' the oxe '.[2] The one clear fact, however, which one gathers even from these observations is that the Indo-Gangetic plains were believed to form a separate geographical unit, distinguishable from the rest of the peninsula by a distinct type of culture.

Strong physical barriers have divided the north of India from the south; and the points of contact between the two regions have been very few in history and too feeble to effect a cultural fusion between the two peoples. Now and then, ambitious monarchs have attempted to unite the whole of India under one crown to immortalise themselves as a ' *chakravartin* '; but the difficulties of communication and administrative control have uniformly thwarted their cherished desires. The well-known experiment of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, namely the attempt to establish a centrally situated capital for the whole of the Indian Empire, met with complete failure. A few centuries later, the Mughal emperor Aurangzīb again attempted to hold the Deccan and spent half his life in camp fighting in a vain attempt to achieve the impossible. In the end his successors, as those of Muhammad Tughluq, wisely contented themselves with their northern possessions. For the Hindu and the Muslim period it may be laid down almost as a historical law that the establishment of a kingdom within the confines of Hindūstān signified its vigour and compactness, and an extension into the Deccan its dismemberment and ruin. This moral, of course, does not apply to the modern conditions of administration. Of these two divisions, the neighbouring parts resemble one another to a slight degree, but as one moves towards the extremities one notices the growing contrast, until at last the language, the

---

[1] Compare Frampton, 136. [2] Frampton, 7.

religious sects, the architecture, the dress, the appearance, the diet—in fact every aspect of social life appears to differ completely from the other.[1] It is not to be wondered at then, if these two regions (which Vincent Smith aptly describes as 'geographical compartments') developed a distinct and a highly complex story of their own.[2] In the light of these considerations, therefore, it is more convenient to study the social developments of Hindūstān as a separate cultural region of the Indian peninsula.

However, when we come to fix the territorial and cultural limits of Hindūstān we are faced with many difficulties. The central administration, usually established at Delhi, was practically the only unifying force in the country, and its territorial area differed from dynasty to dynasty, even from sovereign to sovereign. To put it negatively, we might say that strictly speaking, the land to the west of the Indus was not included in Hindūstān, for the Sultāns of Delhi had no effective political control over it, although isolated attempts may have been made to reduce some parts to subjection.[3] Kashmīr was similarly shut off from the rest of India, and thus closed to the operation of direct influences from outside. Again, inaccessibility kept the regions of Rājputāna, Gondwāna, and Assam more or less immune from the effective interference of the Sultāns of Delhi. It has been remarked that the kingdom of Delhi varied in its territorial extent from time to time. For example, when Bahlūl Lodī was invited to take the throne some time after the invasion of Tīmūr, almost every town had its own ruler, and the titular Sayyid monarch ruled only over the city of Delhi and a few neighbouring villages. So that the humorous people of Delhi used to remark that the dominions of the 'Lord of the World' extend from Delhi to Pālam (a neighbouring village).[5] On the other hand the kingdom of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq penetrated far into the Deccan, and a more central capital was found in Deogīr in the south. Between these two extremes lay varying types of monarchies, the extent of whose dominions was determined according to the rule of despotism, by the length of their swords. Roughly speaking, we may say that the territory of Hindūstān, which was subject to more or less uniform political influences, comprised the Punjāb, the valleys of the Indus, the Jumna and the Ganges as far as Gaur or Lakhnautī, and the fertile province of Oudh, with various

---

[1] Compare Elphinstone, 187.

[2] Compare Smith iii; compare also Slater, Chap. I, 13–41 for the origin of the Dravidian Culture of the Deccan.

[3] Compare T.F.I., 125 for the capture of Ghaznī by a general of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd.

[4] Compare A.N.I., 169 for the interesting observations of the Mughals on Kashmir as a place of refuge against the advance of Sher Shāh.

[5] Compare T.D., 6.

strongholds such as Ajmer, Bayāna, Ranthambhor, Gwalior, and Kālinjar to the west. It did not include the Himālayas, where Hindu princes ruled undisturbed ; and a wide tract at the foot of the mountains, including the greater part of Katehr, the modern Rohilkhand, and the sub-montane tracts of Oudh were left unexplored.[1] The political territory, however, is hardly an adequate measure of the sphere of cultural influences, for in the course of time, even the inaccessible regions of Rājputāna assimilated the culture of their neighbours so well that it became difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between a Rājput and a Mughal.

THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW (1200–1550 A.D.).

The period under review is equally important for a study of social developments in Hindūstān, and, to a certain degree, for the whole of India. Opinions do not agree as to the division of the various periods—ancient, mediæval, and modern—of Indian history. Some historians choose to close the mediæval period of Indian history with the battle of Pānīpat in 1526 A.D. ; others with the coming of Akbar ; and still others with the establishment of British rule. A similar want of agreement is shown in fixing the limits of the ancient period. We have no desire to dispute any opinion, still less to accept a particular division. In most cases these divisions lack a basis for differentiation and appear purely arbitrary. An application of these terms to a social system which has not undergone any substantial material change for thousands of years, is more likely to confuse than to clear the historical perspective. It is not quite safe to borrow them from European history, which finds a clear line of demarcation in the Industrial Revolution, which revolutionised the whole basis of European society. The periods of Indian social development on the other hand—by whatever name we choose to call them—have a more or less uniform character, as far as historical records can help us to judge. Even at the present day, when the bases of society have undergone a radical change, the old order survives to a considerable degree.

Under Muslim rule, therefore, we do not enter upon a new era in Indian history, but only on a stage in the great social development which has been going on since the first dawn of Indian history and still remains to be completed. This, however, does not detract from the importance of the period or the value of its contribution to the stock of Indian culture. No remarks are required to show that the Hindu social system is

---

[1] Compare Sir Wolseley Haig in H.U.H. 3168 ; compare T.S.S., 74-75 for a hundred and thirteen thousand *Parganas* (an administrative unit) of Sher Shāh.

one of the strongest and most endurable in the world. It happened by a strange chance that the first power with which Hindus were brought into permanent contact was one which differed from them as widely as possible in almost everything, and if we might say so, was a complete antithesis of their whole system. As a result of the Muslim impact, the ancient Hindu order was almost completely destroyed. Political and social divisions were levelled ; caste was modified ; religious tendencies took a new direction and force ; and finally, the conception of India as a whole was made possible. It is in the light of these developments that Muslim rule becomes, if very imperfectly, intelligible.[1] A study of the early Muslim period becomes particularly important in view of the fact that these formative forces of Indian culture came into play at that time. And though they operated somewhat rudely and imperfectly, they succeeded in laying foundations which proved strong enough for the later Mughals in raising their glorious edifice. By the time of Akbar, as the following pages will endeavour to trace in outline, the ground-work was completed, and the Emperor Akbar as well as his successors followed the pattern their Turkish and Afghān predecessors had shaped for them. This period, in view of these considerations, becomes especially important for a correct appreciation of the Mughal contribution to Indian society, as well as for a proper estimate of the present social developments.

A word may be added here as to the nature and value of a study such as the present one. It may be freely admitted that after the Industrial Revolution the life of the western people has become very rich in certain ways. It exhibits everywhere a new urge to strive, to change, to go forward, all of which makes a study of Modern European society so instructive and stimulating. The life of people in India, on the other hand, is still governed, to a considerable degree, by conditions not unlike those of Europe in mediæval times. This has led some observers to believe that since the people of India show no development, they have no history ; apparently they are the same—yesterday, to-day, and for ever.[2] This observation gains additional force from the fact that the Indian chronicles and histories deal almost exclusively with kings and battles. Let us examine these important observations. The fact that people do not change in the East is only true with certain reservations. It should not be forgotten that in comparison with an industrial system, the rate of progress in an agricultural society is necessarily slow. The course of development of an agricultural civilization spreads over centuries and though its advancement is almost imperceptible, it is by no means uncertain. It becomes quicker by the impact of a new social force. At a certain stage, when

---

[1] Compare F. W. Thomas, 23. [2] Lane-Poole Int., V.

civilization attains maturity, it exhausts the possibilities of development within the social framework and then begins to stagnate and to decay, or else enters on a new stage of progress. But meanwhile, it has elaborated all the social institutions as far as such elaboration is possible within the framework of a social structure ; in any case, it has carried the people to an advanced stage of culture. In India, an apparent want of change does not signify the poverty of Indian culture but only an advanced stage of maturity, and is worth a careful study on that account. During the period under review the Indian culture was pushed forward by just such a force as quickens the pace of an agricultural society. The other reflection, however, is of a very different import. Until lately history has suffered, at the hands of historians, old and new, both in Asia and in Europe, from a rather isolated and narrow conception of its scope. The old eastern court chroniclers, in particular, confined themselves to kings and their battles, and thus turned history into 'a mere record of butchery of men by their fellow men'. But these barriers which restricted historical investigation are being slowly broken down. It is now coming to be universally recognized that nothing is 'beneath the dignity' of history's notice or outside the scope of its ken, and that all the doings and sufferings of mankind in every walk of life are proper subjects for a historian to investigate. Nay more ; it is being asserted that unless historians do, as a matter of fact, take this extended and all-comprehensive view of their functions, they are bound to present a distorted picture of whatever age they may profess to portray. 'In short,' observes Hearnshaw, 'it is perceived that history is not an isolated subject of study, but is one of a group of kindred studies which together make up the general science of society'.[1] We can be indulgent to a court chronicler of an earlier date, who made his living by singing the praise of his patron, for not living up to the expectations of the science in the twentieth century.

Before dealing, however, with the sources of the present study, I may state here the limitation I have set to the scope and treatment of this subject. I have used mainly, almost exclusively, the evidence from literature, and very little, if any, from inscriptions or from epigraphical, numismatic or architectural data. My use of the Sanskrit texts is limited to the available translations into English ; and I claim no responsibility for examining the originals. With such exceptions my material, though not exhaustive, is copious enough to warrant a study of the culture of Hindūstān during this period. The following pages are a sketch rather than a definitive treatise of social life under the early Sultāns of Delhi. They exclude all references

---

[1] Art : 'Science of History', Outline of Modern Knowledge, 809.

to the civil administration, the system of land revenue, the army, the system of transport, the ideas on education, and the development of literature, or even to the religious life of the people. It is not possible to deal within the limits of this work with any but a very few aspects of social life. The treatment within these limits is further subject to the qualification that the account of these few aspects in these pages can only claim to be true in outline and may be falsified by local and provincial details which varied infinitely from place to place.

B. The Sources of Study.

I shall confine myself to a brief survey of the sources of my study. A detailed examination is neither possible nor even desirable within the limits of this work. I may confess at the outset that I have barely explored a few directions, and I have succeeded in using only a part of the material. A more vigorous search, I am sure, would yield information of greater value and of more comprehensive character. However, a caution may be given here against making an uncritical use of such evidence. When a person wanders away from proper historical books into the illusive realm of imaginative fiction, poetry or folklore, there is every danger of his being seduced by the charms of fancy, which damages the scientific value of the results so obtained. I have taken as much care as possible to avoid this danger, by securing both corroborative and contradictory evidence for a fact before relying upon it. The material for the study of social history is scattered in a variety of books: the chronicles, the works of Amīr Khusrau, folklore and fiction, poetry and songs, the works of mystics, Hindu and Muslim, books on practical arts, and compendiums of law and ethics, the accounts of foreign travellers, and some collections of official and private letters.

I. The Chronicles.

To begin with the chronicles: there is a more or less connected series of Persian chronicles compiled by a number of reliable contemporary historians. There are later compilations of a more general character based on these chronicles and other materials, dealing with past and contemporary events. Among others I have consulted the following:—

The Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh; the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir; the Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī; the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī; the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf; the Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī; the Zafar-nāma of 'Alī Yazdī; the Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī (or the Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī); the Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī; the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī; the Memoirs of Tīmūr, Bābur, Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and Bāyazīd; *the Humāyūn-*

nāma of Khvāndmīr; the Āīn-i-Akbarī, and *the Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l Fazl. Among general histories I have consulted the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*; the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*; and *the Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (*or the Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*). This enumeration is by no means complete, and it is hoped that more histories will come to light in course of time. There was a certain lack of enthusiasm for letters among the later Turkish Sultāns and their successors, which led to the disappearnce of many literary works of value, including historical works, which, if they were available, would supplement our information in material details.[1] For instance when Sir Denison Ross examined the Arabic history of Hājī Dabīr, he noticed the fact that Hājī Dabīr was the first historian to make use of *Husain Khān's Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*, although many others had made a false claim to it.[2] After an examination of those portions of Hāji Dabīr's work which relate to our period, I am convinced that the writer makes important additions to our knowledge. In some cases he gives a new interpretation of facts, and in others, additional information which was neither wise nor discreet for a contemporary court chronicler to disclose. We should not be surprised if historians like Badā'ūnī or Khāfī Khān had their predecessors during our period, whose independent version of contemporary events will greatly help our knowledge of Indian history. Husain Khān, according to the learned editor of Hājī Dabīr, wrote his work in the sixteenth century. Now, if our new information from Hājī Dabīr is entirely based on Husain Khān's work, even then the latter writer must have based his history, in part at least, on works of an earlier period of which we are at present totally ignorant. I have digressed for a moment to show that our knowledge of the contemporary historical literature is far from complete, and a good prospect awaits a patient collector of chronicles.

In this connection I shall briefly refer to some useful features of certain chronicles which are helpful for a better survey of social life. The *Tāj-ul Ma'āsir* of Hasan Nizāmī, in spite of its containing so much that is 'rhapsodical and trapological', is not altogether useless besides its 'powers of fancy and invention'. For instance, it describes, in numerous places, festivals and amusements, and throws valuable side-lights on the spirit of civil administration. Additional, though meagre, information is contained in the British Museum MSS. of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* and *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Baranī which is not available

---

[1] Compare Mirza, 203 for the disappearance of the works of Shihāb-ud-dīn who was consulted on many occasions by Amīr Khusrau. Badr-i-Chāch is reported to have compiled a history of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq in verse and to have given it the ambitious title of *Shāh-nāma* after the monumental work of Firdausī. This book, as Nawwāb Ziyā-ud-dīn Khān of Lohārū believed, has disappeared.

[2] Ross II, Int., XXVII–XXVIII.

in the Bibliotheca Indica texts or in Major Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqāt*. I may mention, in this connection, that the evidence of the *Masālik-ul-Absār-fī-mamālik-ul-Amsār* of Shīhāb ud-dīn Abu'l 'Abbās Ahmad bin Yahya, though indirect, is not to be under-rated on that account. The author was a contemporary of Muhammad Tughlaq (1297–1348 A.D.), and although he did not visit India personally, he had excellent means of knowing about Hindūstān from the frequent intercourse between India and Egypt at that time. His work stood high in Oriental estimation and was often quoted by later historians of no mean talents, for instance the author of *Nuzhat-ul-qulūb*.[1] His method of collecting facts, though novel, is critical and strictly scientific.[2] Among the memoirs, the claims of *Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūr* to authenticity have been disputed on various grounds—the want of the original MS. and the whole circumstances surrounding its discovery at a later date, etc. After an examination of the whole case Professor Dowson was satisfied that the *Malfūzāt* bore the impress of originality and authenticity, and that the whole tenor of the work seemed to point to Tīmūr himself as the man by whom, or under whose immediate direction and superintendence, the book was written.[3] There are few references to Indian social life in the *Malfūzāt* but they are all borne out by the *Zafar-nāma* of 'Alī Yazdī and the work of Nizām Shāmī. For the memoirs of Bābur, I have mainly adhered to the Persian version of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān of the Court of Akbar, who presented his translation of the *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī* to the emperor in 1590. The translator was a versatile scholar in Turkish as well as in Persian and Hindi, and had exceptional opportunities of finding out the correct meaning of the royal author and of observing the social developments in Hindūstān. On a comparison with the Turkish version (in the English rendering of A. S. Beveridge) I have noticed that the Persian version (British Museum MS.) gives a few additional facts regarding

---

[1] Compare Dowson in E.D. III, 574. Some portions of the work have been published by the Egyptian Government, but the portion relating to India is not yet available in print. A French version is printed in Tome XIII of the Notices et Extraits de Mss, etc. (for the English rendering of which I am indebted to a friend). Some extracts are given in E.D. III. Compare also, Qalqashandī's account in *Subh-al-A'shā*.

[2] In the preface to his book the author tells us that whenever he met a party of Indian oversea visitors, he used to put to each one of them separately specific questions on which he sought information. Then from their answers, he took down only those points on which there was unanimous agreement. After abstaining from talking to them on those questions for a time, sufficiently long for them to have forgotten their remarks, he used to repeat his original questions. And if their replies again agreed with their earlier versions, only then, he transcribed the information which is given in his work. It is needless to add that his informants were, in most cases, men of learning and position who usually spoke of things at first hand.—Compare Notices etc. 165-166.

[3] E.D. III, 563.

India. For Gulbadan's *Humayūn-nāma*, I have adhered to A. S. Beveridge's excellent edition of the text.

For the study of the Afghāns (Lodīs and Sūrs) I have consulted the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, *the Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* and the *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*. *The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* is well-known for its careful compilation of numerous biographies of those who lived and moved among the scenes and afterwards related their experiences to the author, who incorporated them with due care and examination.[1] The other two chronicles, however, do not show the same discrimination or historical judgment. The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* is 'fragmentary and disjointed, and amounts to little more than desultory memoirs'. Similarly, the *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* is ill-arranged and contains long digressions. Both of them are further full of marvels and superstitions; in the *Wāqi'āt* especially 'anecdotes are interspersed, of the celebrated chiefs and saints of the time; silly stories of miracles, apparitions, demons, enchantment, and jugglery deform the work, exhibiting the extraordinary credulity of the author, as well as that of the age in which he lived.'[2] It goes without saying that for a proper appreciation of religious life, if on no other account, knowledge of these alleged deformities is invaluable.

Among the chronicles, another interesting document is the *Humāyūn-nāma of Khvāndamīr*. This is the last work of the celebrated historian, who wrote it about the beginning of 1534 A.D. (941 A.H.) at the special request of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn. Its special feature is the account of new devices and novel mechanisms introduced by the emperor.[3] A reference has already been made to the Arabic history of Gujarāt of Hājī Dabīr, now available in an excellent edition.

Finally some remarks may be made about the celebrated work of Abu'l Fazl, the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* so ably edited by Blochmann, and rendered into English by Blochmann and Jarrett. The learned author and the editors are warm in praising the great merits of the work. The author claims to have compiled a work of encyclopedic character, where useful information of all kinds is to be found and to which people in every walk of life resort for reference, instruction, and amusement. Blochmann correctly emphasised the unique position of the *Āīn* among the Persian chronicles, inasmuch as it placed the life

---

[1] T.S.S., 3.

[2] E.D. IV, 537. A more connected account of the Afghāns is to be found in the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* of Ni'mat Ullah composed in 1613 A.D.

[3] K., 125.

[4] Compare A.A., III, 282 'It is a treasure of learning of every variety: the skilled and the experts can refer to it; and even the buffoons and mountebanks can use it with profit; to the youngsters it will be a source of amusement, and for those grown up and matured, a treasure of information; elderly wisdom will find in it ripe wisdom of ages and the nobility and the virtuous a code of upright behaviour'.

of the people in the foreground where 'for the first time people live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after', are placed before our eyes in truthful and vivid colours.[1] As to the care with which he collected his materials, Abu'l Fazl tells us what unusual pains he took to gather his information. Instead of relying on verbal replies from his informants, he circulated among them a questionnaire and asked them to submit well-considered replies after due deliberation. For every topic with which he deals in his book he had twenty such carefully prepared memoranda, and incorporated the facts in his book only after a careful comparison and examination.[2] There is one aspect, however, in which the monumental work of Abu'l Fazl does not compare very favourably with a modern scientific work. He does not disclose to us very fully the actual sources of his information or of his informants who wrote the various memoranda for him. In one place he makes a casual remark that he came across certain 'old books' during the course of his investigations, but leaves us in complete ignorance as to the nature or content of these 'old books'.[3] Moreover, Abu'l Fazl betrays unbalanced judgment in illustrating the 'worldly side' of Akbar and his 'greatness as a king', by giving his patron all the credit of originality, and wisdom which leads him to ignore completely and deliberately the amount and value of the contribution of the Turkish, the Afghan, and even the Mughal predecessors of Akbar. It was easier for him than it is now for us to trace the origin and development of various social phenomena of Hindūstān. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* is a monument of social history but its importance lies primarily in recording the various developments that had taken shape until the reign of Akbar, when the great Mughal emperor picked up the threads and carried the work of social progress one step forward. Otherwise, the *Āīn* could as well have been compiled fifty years earlier, without suffering very much in contents and value. It would have been considered even then, an equally faithful record of contemporary social and political life.

II. Amir Khusrau.

Before we take leave of historical literature, we wish to digress for a moment on the historical value of the books of Amīr Khusrau and his estimate as a historian. We have derived a large part of our information from his work alone. He has composed at least three poems and one book of prose—the *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, the *Miftāh-ul-futūh* (*or Fath-ul-futūh*), the *Nuh Sipahr*, and the *Khazā'in-ul-futūh* respectively, of a pro-

---

[1] A.A. (Eng. Trans.), I, Int., V.
[2] A.A. II, 255.
[3] A.A. II, 252.

fessedly historical character, besides numerous other poems. If we add to these books his poem called *Dewalrānī Khizr Khān* which, though a romantic story, is intermixed with contemporary historical events, and the *Tughluq-nāma* which deals with the rise and fall of Khusrau Khān the usurper and the accession of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, the number of his historical books amounts to six, which give us a more or less connected account of an interesting period of about forty years (1285–1325) in which the author lived and personally witnessed most of the events related.[1]

As to the nature of his treatment: Amīr Khusrau tries to conceal nothing from his readers. For example, he tells us frankly that he undertook to write the *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* in obedience to a royal command. The Sultān flattered him by calling him 'the seal of authors' and promised to give him a big reward which would free him from all worldly cares ever afterwards. The plan of the book and the scope of its treatment was defined by the royal patron.[2] Under the next patron, Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, when the author was asked to compose a book, he felt morally stronger. He frankly told the Sultān that whenever he was inclined to drift away from historical truth in accordance with the demands of poetical conventions and the accepted standards of eulogies, he was stung by the inward reproaches of his conscience. So that, he told him, he had made up his mind to adhere to truthfulness, whatever his position demanded.[3] However, Amīr Khusrau served a continuous succession of monarchs, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād, Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, and Mubārak Shāh Khaljī respectively, and when any honest man lives too long in courtly environments, his standards of ethical judgment usually undergo a change. It was perhaps due to such a reflection that the poet warned his son, some time later, against following in the footsteps of his father who, as he told him, had spent the whole of his life in 'spinning a yarn'.[4] Thus it should be remembered that Amīr Khusrau often plays a double character in his writings. He is a historian without completely renouncing the office of a court poet and a courtier; and amazing as it may appear, he meets the demands of all three positions in his person and in his writings. The *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, in particular,

---

[1] My friend Maulvī Hashmī of Hyderabad (Deccan) has recently brought to light a copy of the *Tughluq-nāma* of Amīr Khusrau which was originally discovered by the late Maulanā Rashīd Ahmad of the M.A.O. College (and later of the Jami'a Millia Islamia) Aligarh who helped the publication of Khusrau's works by the M.A.O. College authorities and made a long tour of India in search of original MSS. This manuscript, which I have examined only in part, bears the impress of being genuine. Its contents are further supported by occasional quotations in the *Firishta* and other histories.

[2] Q.S., 169-70.

[3] K.K., 890.

[4] Compare K.K., 245 and 674.

has a value of its own. Here the author gives a systematic account of the first fifteen years of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and it appears from its topographical and other details that the author was a personal witness of some at least of the scenes, even of those in the distant South. It is the only contemporary history of the period and the facts are narrated with admirable accuracy and wealth of detail.[1] On the whole, we can agree in our estimate of Amīr Khusrau with Professor Cowell, that although his style is full of exaggeration and metaphorical description, the facts of history are given with tolerable fidelity.[2] I may add here in passing that many historians of a later date have followed his version of contemporary events, without however, always acknowledging the source of their information.[3] I am, however, concerned with Amīr Khusrau in an even wider sense. I consider him pre-eminently as a historian of contemporary social life. This has led me to examine not only his history and historical poems but also his complete *Dīwān*, his *Kulliyāt* (collected poems) particularly his *Matl'a-ul-anwār* exposing the manners and the morals of his day, and even his voluminous and rather abstruse book on epistolography, the *I'jāz-i-Khusravī*. As a 'high-brow' artist or chronicler, Khusrau could have confined himself to courtly environment and association with a few cultured men of letters; even as a social historian he could have written with the detachment of an academician like Abu'l Fazl. But Khusrau came from the people and feels at his best only when he moves among the crowd. When behaving as a courtier or as a man of letters, he is conscious of playing a part: his ascetic and puritan moods are decidedly morbid and only temporary, and he avails himself of the first opportunity to throw away these masks and morbid gloom and to start laughing and pleasing himself like other people. Nay, to assure the crowd that no amount of intellectual attainments and secular elevation can stop him from being congenial to them, he even borrows sometimes the vulgarity of the undeveloped mind, and the unrefined taste of the illiterate. When he is among common people he takes a detached view

---

[1] Professor Muhammad Habib of Aligarh has recently published an English version of this history in the Journal of Indian History.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1860, p. 227.

[3] Compare among others the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* for the events leading to the succession of Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād: the attempt of his father Bughrā Khān to dispute the succession, so that it was only after his renouncing a claim to the throne of Delhi that a potential battle was turned into a happy meeting between the father and the son. This is borrowed from the *Qirān us-Sa'dain*. Similarly, the version of the *Dewalrānī Khizr Khānī* is followed for the events of the closing years of Sultān 'Alā'ud-dīn Khaljī. The famous elegy of Amīr Khusrau on the death of Prince Muhammad the '*Khān-i-Shahīd*' is extensively quoted by men of letters and historians, for instance, Budā'ūnī and Nizām-ud-dīn. (*Vide* T.M.S., 359-60 and 374-375.)

of his previous stately environments and spiritual heights and gives an honest and frank opinion about men and things, not excluding himself. In trying to express himself with this attitude of mind, however, he finds sometimes that plain and easily intelligible language is not altogether discreet and may involve him in trouble. This shrewdness drives him to subterfuge. He now deliberately takes to grandiloquent style, to florid and bombastic language, and to puns and puzzles; but he must speak out his mind, as it were, to relieve his agitated and indignant soul. Thus, he takes good care to conceal his meaning in a mass of words, but is still as clear as possible if one knows his feelings and his surroundings. This is my reading of the *I'jāz-i-khusravī*, professedly written to demonstrate his powers of rhetoric (Balāghat), and his skill in the use of words, and to add to the existing nine styles of epistolography a tenth of his own.[1] Superficially read, 'the documents it contains are, as usual, written in the most grandiloquent style, a very small amount of information being wrapped up in a bewildering maze of words'. But if these documents are carefully examined they yield interesting and instructive information of a varied character, besides many graphic descriptions of various social phenomena and references to manners and morals. It might be said that it is hardly proper to read into apparently disjointed phrases and uncertain epigrams, meanings of social import; in any case, it does not appear scientific to draw historical references from them. It is true that the author is reluctant to admit anyone into his secrets but the reluctance is only apparent. The *I'jāz-i-khusravī* was not written at the command of a monarch, or for the benefit of a noble or those in power. It is a private document in which the spirit of the author has a free and unfettered play. The only fetters he has put upon himself are those of style, and these self-imposed restrictions are justified by the political conditions of the age. To appreciate the *I'jāz-i-khusravī* of Amīr Khusrau, the reader will be well advised to make a detailed study of comparative literature.[2]

---

[1] Compare I.K., 53.

[2] Compare E.D., III, 566. Curiously enough the only extract of the book made for Sir H. M. Elliot by 'a munshi' and incorporated by him in his work (Volume III, 566-7) is the one which least deserved to be incorporated. It purports to be a despatch from a State official designated as Badr Hājib and addressed to the Crown Prince, announcing a victory over the Mongols and the occupation of Ghaznī by the royal armies. This relates, as the editor remarks, to 'a matter upon which the historians are silent'. The original passage occurs in Vol. IV, pp. 144–156 (Lucknow text). Sir H. M. Elliot and his munshi both overlooked the fact that it was never meant to be treated as a genuine royal document but only a model for epistolography. On page 18 of Vol. IV, Amīr Khusrau makes it plain that he has 'coined' the letter herein inserted and again repeats, on page 22 of the same volume, that he made ample use of his own fruitful imagination in writing fictitious

III. Literature.

Thanks to the efforts of the Orientalists we have a number of books on various subjects : folklore and fiction ; poetry and songs ; practical arts ; and a few compendiums of legal and political precepts, besides other books of Hindu and Muslim mystics and religious reformers.

1. *Folklore and Fiction.*—Few words are needed to recommend to a student of social history the examination of folklore. Folklore lacks the flourish and glamour of a court chronicle, and the accuracy and lucidity of other books of history or historical documents. But in its own way it professes 'to reconstruct a spiritual history of Man, not as exemplified by the outstanding works of poets and thinkers, but as represented by the more or less inarticulate voices of the 'folk'.[1] The claims of Folklore to the status of a scientific study are being slowly recognized. The period under review begins with the voluminous collection of stories, namely, the *Jawāmī'-ul-Hikāyāt* of Muhammad 'Awfī. The author lived in the reign of Sultān Iltutmish and dedicated his great work to his minister, Nizām-ul-mulk Junaidī. It is a neatly compiled book, carefully classified into chapters and sections according to its contents.[2] It was too early to expect from a Muslim writer an intimate touch with the social life of the country of his domicile. Thus the *Jawāmī'-ul-Hikāyāt* speaks more of foreign Muslim centres, like Ghaznī and Bagdād, and very little of Multān or Delhi. It does not forget, however, to give some interesting side-lights on the life of the Sultāns. As a whole, its value is meagre. *Purush-Pariksha* of Vidyāpati Thākur, though written in the conventional style of the contemporary books of ethics, is very useful for our purpose.[3] It starts with an examination of Hindu ethical ideals, and illustrates its moral from illustrations with examples from the ancient as well as from the contemporary social life ; the range of choice of historical examples does not exclude the Muslims or the lower Hindu classes. As a whole, our period is marked by the decay of Sanskrit literature, and

letters and that of others who had done the same before him and thus had given shape to a book of charm and originality by skilfully editing these 'single and compound words, short and long phrases and brief and lengthy documents purporting to be official'. The mention of this particular fact—the occupation of Ghaznī and the defeat of the Mongols as well as the style of the letter may have been borrowed from an earlier date when Sher Khān occupied Ghaznī on behalf of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, to which a reference has been made in an earlier footnote.

[1] Krappe, Int., XV.

[2] A list of contents of the book with a valuable introduction was recently published on behalf of the Gibb Memorial Fund Series, by M. Nizām-ud-dīn in 1929.

[3] The date of Vidyāpati Thākur is not yet fixed with certainty. B. K. Chatterji holds that he was definitely alive from 1400 A.D. to 1438 A.D. (vide *J.D.L.*, 1927, 36). I have used an old English translation published in Bombay presumably for school or college purposes.

we can turn with profit to the rising Prakrits or provincial dialects for information of value.

Under Sher Shāh flourished the famous poet of Oudh, Malik Muhammad Jāisī, who wrote and sang in his sweet native Awadhī, and was proud of the fact. In some ways, he was greater even than Amīr Khusrau, for while the latter was more or less confined in his treatment to Muslim society and adhered to the orthodox view of Islām, the former had drunk deep at the springs of both Hinduism and Islām, and was, as a matter of fact, more Hindu than Muslim in his outlook on life. He is the oldest vernacular poet of Hindūstān of whose works we have any uncontested remains.[1] In his well-known book *Padumāvat*, Malik Muhammad Jāisī deals with the events of the popular story of Rājā Ratansen of Chitor: the marriage of the Rājā with Padumāvat, a princess of the distant Simhala; his battle against 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and imprisonment in Delhi; and finally, his thrilling escape from the royal prison through the device of his queen and the valour of his two loyal adherents. The Simhala of the story (popularly believed to be Ceylon) is no other than an average Hindu capital in Northern India. The descriptions of the seas and the southern countries (given in the book to meet the requirements of Hindu dramatic conventions) are so fanciful that it may be doubted if the author ever ventured to go beyond the limits of the Doāb and Oudh. Another book of fiction is the story of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpāmatī of Mālwa which was composed by Ahmad-al-'Umarī, and is now available in Crump's rendering published under the title 'Lady of the Lotus'. It is an interesting though a sad poem and gives valuable side-lights on social life in Mālwa.

2. *Poetry and Songs*.—Besides Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Hasan there were numerous other Persian poets whose works have disappeared, as was mentioned earlier. The poems of Badr-i-chāch are available, and slight references to other poets are made by Badā'ūnī in his history. But the value of these poems is meagre for our immediate purpose. They are composed in a foreign language and their style is highly conventional. The Persian poets on the whole are very different from the poets of the land, who sang in their own language. To name only two of them, Mukand Rām and Chandī Dās of Bengal are famous, and no student of social history can fail to turn to them without pleasure and profit.[2] The more important poetic

---

[1] Compare Grierson, Padumāvat Int., 2. Two of the poems of Malik Muhammad Jāisī are now available—*the Padumāvat* and *the Akhrāwat*. The *Padumāvat* was edited in part by Grierson and Dvivedi in 1869 and was stopped on the death of the Hindu scholar. The *Akhrāwat* was published by the Nāgarī Pracharinī Sabha of Benares in 1904.

[2] Mukand Rām has been put in the later part of the 16th century. Some interesting extracts of his poems are given in J. N. Das Gupta's 'Bengal in the Sixteenth Century'. T. D. Gupta has recently published

activity was, however, shown in composing devotional religious songs (the Bhakti songs) which are an extremely valuable source for the study of social conditions. Their tone, in general, is gloomy, and their criticism of social life somewhat unbalanced; but they disclose a wealth of information and reveal the deep emotions which moved the people of that age. There are rich collections of these songs from all parts of Hindūstān. To enumerate but a few representative names: Lalla in Kashmir, Nānak in the Punjāb, Kabīr in the Upper Gangetic plains, Vidyāpati Thākur in Bihār and Orissa, and Chaitanya in Bengal, are the great prophets of the popular religion of Hindūstān during our time.[1] The songs of numerous others are given in the sixth volume of Macauliffe's work, while some new poems are being slowly brought to light by the Visva-Bharati and other Indian periodicals. I have deliberately excluded from the present study a more detailed examination of the writings of Muslim Sūfīs in Hindūstān. The Sūfīs in general are so conventional in their treatment, that they show a more or less complete detachment from the life of common people and their spiritual wants. They fight shy of recognizing the social changes which a closer association and mutual interaction of Hindus and Muslims were bringing about in Muslim society. As a matter of fact, the Sūfīs lived in more intimate touch with the social currents of life than any other class among the Muslims, but they found themselves between two stools, facing danger from opposite directions. They were dissatisfied with the whole of orthodox Muslim life, but they did not dare to question the power of the theologians who led the people, covering themselves with the rigid interpretation of the Muslim dogma. They similarly disapproved of the life and manners of the Muslim

---

his 'Aspects of Bengali Society' in *J.D.L.*, Calcutta (1927–29), using mainly literary data from the Bengali language for a study of social history of Bengal which includes the examination of Bengali poetry, ballads, and folk-songs.

[1] The songs of Lalla have been rendered into English by R. C. Temple. The text with translation was published by Grierson and Barnett. Nānak's songs and hymns have been incorporated in the *Granth Sāhib*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, and are to be found in an English rendering in the first volume of Macauliffe's 'The Sikh Religion'. The *Bījak* of Kabīr is now available in a careful English translation by Rev. Ahmad Shah. The songs of Vidyāpati—the *Padāvali Bangiya* (which, as opposed to his Sanskrit book referred to earlier, is composed in his native Maithili)—were translated and published by Coomaraswami and Arun Sen. His peculiarity lies in being a Krishnite and in singing of the loves of Rādhā and Krishna. Chaitanya was not so fortunate as to have left a collection of songs but the contemporary biography of Das Kaviraj, completed in 1582 after many years of devoted labour, is a document of great historical value. The second part of this biography which deals with six years of Chaitanya's pilgrimages is available in the English translation of J. N. Sircar. The account of his wanderings introduces us to the hopes and fears of the common people and to the gradual assimilation by Muslims of Hindu ideas.

aristocracy, but they were too much afraid of the power of the ruling classes to offend them by strong opposition or even by honest criticism. They had very little to give to the common people which was not inconsistent with the accepted version of the orthodox Islām, and thus exposed them to the charge of heresy or heterodoxy. So the Sūfī works have little use for our present purposes. I have, however, used the *Zakhīrat-ul-mulūk* of Hamadānī (died 1384 A.D.) and the *Sahā'if* of Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn (died 1536 A.D.) to represent the Sūfī view-point. An orthodox Muslim is, however, somewhat different. Even if he is not interested in the life of 'the infidels', he is interested in keeping the Muslims pure from their taint; he is not a little interested in securing the reward of the next world by converting an infidel to Islām. It is somewhat difficult to draw a line between a Sūfī and an orthodox Muslin in practical religion except in extreme cases when a Sūfī superimposes some mystic and occult doctrine on Islām and stretches the sense and meaning of both Qur'ān and the Tradition to meet his ends, and the orthodox refuses to go beyond the literal interpretation of the Muslim dogma. Composed on the orthodox lines are two books, the *Matla'-ul-Anwār* of Amīr Khusrau and the *Tuhfa-i-Nasā'ih* of Yūsuf Gadā. The book of Khusrau, which I have already mentioned, is a bitter exposition of the heterodox manners of his age. He deals with all classes of Muslims and with every phase of moral life. The *Tuhfa-i-Nasā'ih* is expository rather than critical. In this didactic poem, addressed to his son in the form of advice, the author gives a general survey of Muslim life in India from an orthodox standpoint. Its particular interest lies in showing how far Hindu beliefs and practices and other common superstitions were being incorporated into the scheme of orthodox Muslim life in Hindūstān.[1]

3. *Practical arts and Compendiums.*—There are a few books on practical arts which are quite useful for a study of contemporary social life. For example, the *Kitāb-i-Ni'mat Khāna-i-Nāsir Shāhī*, a compendium of culinary art, gives numerous recipes for making scents, cosmetics, ottos, and for preparing a variety of foods and delicacies.[2] Another, named *Hidāyat-*

---

[1] Yūsuf Gadā was a pupil of the celebrated Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh of Delhi and composed the book in 1393 (Ethe, 732). The book contains only 776 verses, but the author claims to have given a complete exposition of the orthodox beliefs and practices to the reader (compare T., 29).

[2] The only copy of the MS. in the India Office collection (copied between 1634-1635 A.D.) is without a date of composition or the name of the author and Ethe does not assign any date for its composition (*vide* Ethe, 1499). Considering the evidence of its contents and after examining the MS. I am inclined to believe that it was composed in Mālwa before 1500 A.D. under the Khaljī Sultāns of Mālwa. It is an official guide for the royal kitchen which obviates the necessity of mentioning the name of the author.

ur-rāmī, gives a comprehensive guidance to archers and those interested in the use of bow and arrow.[1] The most important book, however, of this nature is the *Fiqh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. It is a compendium of civil and ecclesiastical law and has an interesting history. It was originally compiled by one Ya'qūb Karrānī who died without finishing the book. The posthumous work was brought to the notice of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who ordered its revision and enlargement and thus the book took its present shape. It gives legal precepts which were probably meant for the guidance of the Judiciary, but this is by no means certain. It may be safely said, however, that these semi-judicial compilations, even though they may not be compared with modern legal codes, do not on that account lose their historical value. They reflect the social conditions in a more lucid manner than other books and are to be valued accordingly.[2] Another book, not exactly a compilation of 'ecclesiastical decisions, advices, and admonitions' (*vide* Ethe) but rather a kind of political guide to a prince and a code of political ethics, is the *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī* of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī. Together with another earlier compilation of a similar nature, the *Ādāb-ul-mulūk* of Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, it throws some light on the political ideas of the times. But the tone of these compilations is theoretical rather than practical. In any case, their value in elucidating social developments is very little. We are not required to go into a closer examination of their contents for our present purposes.[3]

IV. The Foreign Travellers.

In some respects, the most valuable source for the contemporary social history of India is to be found in the accounts of the foreign travellers. They come from different countries at different periods and move about with an admirable detachment and with intellectual curiosity. Unfortunately, with a few exceptions their sphere of movement was confined to a few coastal towns and a little belt of inland territory adjoining the sea-coast, and perhaps with the single exception of Varthema, they were all totally ignorant of the language of the country. Within these limitations their accounts are extremely valuable, especially in one respect, namely, that the foreign travellers

---

[1] The *Hidāyat-ur-rāmī* was composed under Husain Shāh of Bengal (904–927 A.D.) (*vide* Rieu, 489).

[2] The plan of the *Fiqh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* follows the orthodox lines of Muslim law-books. It gives the Arabic text and the Persian paraphrasing of the precepts and a summary of the view of other Sunnite legal authorities on the question.

[3] This title is given to the MS. in the India Office collection. An abridged form of the same book is named *Ādāb-ul-Harb* in the British Museum collection.

alone expose what are commonly considered as ugly social institutions of India.[1] It is a curious fact, but none the less true, that some of the most inhuman social practices of the land have never appeared to the Indian writers, poets, and religious reformers, either Hindu or Muslim, as worthy of their notice and comment. If one wishes to gather the records of slavery, widow-burning, untouchability, child-marriage, extreme sexual indulgence and sexual perversion, one would search for these facts in Indian books almost in vain. Great social reformers like Nānak, and saints and prophets like Kabīr, Chaitanya or Nizām-ud-dīn Awliyā', pass over them without much comment, and though rebelling against priesthood in no uncertain terms, they do not strive against these graver evils in the same characteristic and militant manner. The Muslims who could perhaps have taken a healthier and more detached view of the situation found no particular cause for complaint in the suppression of human personality through these glaring social evils, for it was not uncongenial to the whole of their outlook on life, as will be explained later. In other words, these social evils had become the normal features of their social organism in the eyes of both the Hindus and the Muslims. There is a continuous series of these travellers from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. In the 13th century came the famous *Marco Polo* who started about 1273 on his long tour in Eastern Countries. In the 14th century followed the equally famous and for us the most important traveller, the famous *Ibn Batūta* who spent his whole life (1325–1354) in travelling throughout the Muslim world of that day. In the 15th century came at least five travellers whose accounts have come down to us. The century opens with a Chinese naval mission in 1405, the Muslim secretary of which, named Mahuan, recorded his observations on Bengal and Malābar. Some time later followed Nicolo Conti (1419–1444). About the middle of the century, in 1662, the learned Persian ambassador, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, came to the court of Vijayanagar. Nikitin and Stephano followed at the close of the century. During the early part of the 16th century came Varthema (1503–1508) ; Barbosa came about 1518, and the Turkish Admiral Sidī 'Alī Reïs at the close of our period (1553–1556). It would not be surprising if indefatigable search brings to light some fresh accounts of travellers to India.[2] By

---

[1] T. D. Gupta's valuable contributions to the study of Bengali Society, based as they are on the evidence of Bengali literature alone, are naturally incomplete in this respect in the presentation of social facts.

[2] Among the published accounts of these travellers, Sir Henry Yule's edition of Marco Polo is well known. A new version of Marco Polo was rendered into English by John Frampton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1579 A.D.) and is now available in Penzer's edition. This edition also includes a new and in some ways a more complete version of Nicolo Conti which considerably improves upon the one contained in Major's 'India in the fifteenth century'. Another summary of Conti's

far the most learned of these travellers were Ibn Batūta, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, and Sidī 'Alī Reīs.[1] The account of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq is more or less confined to Vijayanagar and thus does not concern us directly. By far the best and the most complete account comes from Ibn Batūta. Before him, and even after him, nobody ventured so far inland, stayed for such a long period, or gave an account of so many and varied social phenomena. His evidence is direct and personal; his experiences are so close and intimate; his opportunities of association are so wide and frequent; and finally, he dictates his observations thousands of miles away from the scene, in the security of his own native land, so that there is little likelihood of his concealing facts or misrepresenting them. His account is thus a life-like picture of the Hindūstān of his day, where the traveller moves about as one of the Indians themselves. He marries in the country (as he did in so many others) and has children; he is in the employment of the State; he is even appointed as the accredited envoy of the Sultān of Delhi to the court of the Chinese Emperor; he even leads the life of an ascetic, the popular rage of the times, and also goes about as a refugee in hiding. However, Ibn Batūta, as everybody else, has his intellectual limits. He is sometimes over-anxious as a true Berber to believe in the marvels and miracles of saints. The fact that he never kept any record or notes of his long travels, or made a careful and systematic study of the broad facts of Indian political life, leads him into many errors of observation and sometimes into amusing mis-statements of facts.[2] The account of Sidī 'Alī Reīs, though brief, is full of interest. He brought a more cultivated brain

---

conversation with Pero Tefur about India appears in the latter's travels published under the 'Broadway-Travellers Series'. The account of Mahuan was translated by George Phillip and published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895-1896. The accounts of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, Stephano, and Nikitin are contained in Major's book referred to above and published by the Hakluyt Society. A complete English translation of Ibn Batūta is not yet available and I have based my study on the Arabic text published from Cairo in 1870-1 A.D. The English translations of Varthema and Barbosa have already been published by the Hakluyt Society, London. The account of Sidī 'Alī Reīs is available in the English rendering of Vambery. A new and better translation is, however, in the course of publication.

[1] Compare Frampton, Int., IX, for criticism of Marco Polo's account. The observations of the European travellers are more or less confined to the South and are limited to a few facts of social life which are sometimes repeated as if one was borrowing them from the other.

[2] Compare, for instance, K.R., II, 17, 21, 30, 31, for some amusing mis-statements: that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād built the Qutb Mīnār of Delhi and that the passage leading to the top was wide enough to admit an elephant; that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban ascended the throne after killing Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd; that there was a dispute between the father and the son for succession when Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq came to the throne; and finally when the former became a Sultān, Jūna Khān (later known as Muhammad Tughluq) revolted against his father in the Deccan under the excuse of leading an invasion into the Telingāna.

to understand the facts of national and international politics and to appreciate the culture of a people. Unfortunately, the unsettled political conditions of India, no less than his devotion to and love of the Ottoman Empire, persuaded him to return too soon.

V. Minor sources: Correspondence.

Among minor sources of information may be mentioned some collections of official and private letters: the *Riyāz-ul-Insha'* of Mahmūd Gāwān, the *Inshā'-nāma* of Tāhir-ul-Husainī, and the letters of Bāyazīd II and Mahmūd II of Turkey, all of which make slight references to Indian conditions. This is all the evidence I can offer at present for the study of social life of Hindūstān during the period under review.

An objection is sometimes made, not without reason, that a picture of social life coming more or less exclusively from Muslim and other sources will fail to do justice to Hindu society or paint it in sympathetic and vivid colours. I have found no occasion to agree with the observation inasmuch as it implies that the Muslim historian or man of letters purposely misrepresented the facts of Hindu social life. There was no cultural conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus. In fact the cultural forces were rapidly leading to a complete fusion between the two, so that there was hardly any room for such discrimination. The development of historical literature had a very long and healthy tradition among the Muslims and the examples of intellectual honesty are to be found even among conspicuously dogmatic persons, for instance, Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī and 'Abdul-Qādir Budā'ūnī. With Amīr Khusrau and Malik Muhammad Jāisī we enter on a very different and a more or less national outlook. On the other hand, if there were any Hindu scholars, they lived in the seclusion of a few intellectual centres like Kashmīr or Benares and were completely isolated from the main currents of social life. It is further to be doubted if they inherited proper cultural traditions or even right attitudes of mind to make good historians.

However, though Muslim sources cannot perhaps be accused of a bias, other limitations are equally serious. The social content of Muslim histories is meagre. Life is unattractive for them outside courts and cities, or a few religious and literary circles. They are not, as a rule, directly interested in knowing about the Hindu society, or even the life of the lower classes of Muslims who were not very different from the Hindu masses. This, obviously, is an insufficient basis for the study of Hindu society. Unfortunately, the records of Rājputāna, the solitary home of Hindu culture and polity, have not yet been worked out. The brilliant but old work of James Tod still remains the main source of our information. We hope that a critical study

of Rājput records and other sources of information will some day add to our knowledge of the contemporary Hindu society.

With such materials as are enumerated above it is obviously impossible to give a complete picture of the society in Hindūstān. A consoling thought under such conditions suggests itself, that in the more or less static condition of Indian society a student of social history can always check his facts and conclusions by comparing them with present-day survivals, and thus succeed in giving a more complete picture of the past in the light of the present observations. Though generally helpful, such a view of Indian history is subject to two reservations. The intervening period in our case covers the social developments of about four centuries and includes the operation of a new social force from the industrialized West. It is not unlikely that the events of the intervening period have succeeded in giving a new social meaning and content to the growing complexity of social phenomena in India. Secondly, except for the Imperial Gazetteer of India, a few writers like Crooke and Grierson and a few government reports, no systematic and scientific social survey of India has been undertaken. This work awaits the attention of experienced folklorists and of sociologists in general. I have given references to present-day survivals from the modern works in footnotes where necessary.

As to the plan of the work, I have included the study of a number of political and economic factors which appear to me helpful in giving a proper perspective of social developments in Hindūstān. In dealing with economic conditions, my object is only to give some economic data for a better appreciation of social life.[1] As regards the original texts, I have made a free rather than a literal translation; in some cases I have contented myself only with a summary of a longer passage. Abbreviations are used to indicate most of the original and published texts. These are noted against the text in the bibliography. Two appendices are added at the close of the thesis for a better appreciation of some general data, as the measurements of time and space, the coins, etc., and for the chronology of the reigns of the Sultāns of Delhi.

---

[1] Compare *J.I.H.*, 1929, p. 167, for Moreland's views on the composition of a definitive treatise on the economic conditions of the period.

PART I: POLITICAL CONDITION.

The 'Sultanat' and its reactions on Muslim Society.

It is still somewhat obscure exactly how and when the title of 'Sultān' originated. It was first used by the rulers who set up as independent kings in the former provinces of the Caliph of Baghdād.[1] The terms '*Sultān*' and '*Sultanat*' are derived from a common root meaning 'power, authority', and are generally applied to that form of State which began to prevail in the Islamic world soon after the first four successors of Muhammad, but which was not originally contemplated by the Qur'ān.[2] A study of the theory of sovereignty under the Sultāns of Delhi is full of interest, as it discloses not only the political ideas of the Muslims, but in a wider sense their whole outlook on life. This great change from the theoretic '*Khilāfat*' of the Qur'ān to the despotic rule of the Sultāns of Islām requires a word of illustration.

The teachings of the Qur'ān appear to have worked more or less satisfactorily in the tribal surroundings and the strong democratic traditions of Madīna. But as soon as Islām began to expand beyond the limits of a city-state, the 'Inspired word of God' failed to be elaborated for the working of a more extensive political structure, and the meagre doctrine of '*Mashwara*' (counsel) never shaped itself into a workable political institution.[3] The political and territorial expansion of Islām, however, continued with great rapidity; it was soon felt necessary to organize the loose fragments of the Arabian tribes under a strong and stable government ruling over a large and ever-growing territory. Injunctions of the Qur'ān and the precedents of Madīna and its first Caliphs were now subordinated to the need of a strong and compact political structure. It is a singular fact that the Arab thinkers, who deal philosophically with the rise of kingship, point to it as a necessary institution for the maintenance of social order. According to their exposition of

---

[1] Compare *J.R.A.S.*, 1929, 228 for a Buwaihid ruler called *Sultān-ud-daula* who died in 415 A.H. Mahmūd of Ghaznī invaded the Buwaihid territory in 419 A.H.—compare Arnold, 202, for the assumption of the title by the Saljūqs.

[2] Compare Holy Qur'ān 20 : 30 and the translator's note on pp. 23-24. The Qur'ān wanted to set up a 'Kingdom of God' in which the Caliph 'judges among or rules the creatures of Allāh by His Command'. In contrast to this the Sultanat is a purely secular institution signifying the dominion of man over man and not a theocracy.

[3] Compare Qur'ān 42 : 38, 'Their rule is to take counsel among themselves'.

the case, kingship was an indispensable condition precedent to civilization. They did not indeed hesitate to declare that even an unjust and oppressive monarchy is better than an unlicensed freedom.[1] In short, the Muslims were faced with a choice between monarchy and anarchy, and they wisely chose the former. Meanwhile the *'Ulamā* or the learned doctors of Mus theology, who were confined to Madīna, were elaborating a system of Muslim law which had very little to do with the conditions of the Muslim State. This breach of sentiment between Madīna, the centre of Muslim orthodoxy, and Damascus, the capital of the Arab Empire, explains why, from the very beginning, so much of Muslim law became purely theoretic in character and began to lay down so many principles that have hardly ever been put into practice.[2]

The Muslim society was on the eve of still greater changes. With the fall of Madā'in, the ancient capital (Ctesiphon) of Chosroes, and the transfer of the seat of the Caliph to Baghdād, Persian ideas began to flow in, changing the face of Islām in course of time. On coming into contact with the Persians, the Arabs discovered the political traditions of an ancient people, their extremely practical nature as contrasted with the traditions of Arabia which led to many civil wars in a short time and caused so much trouble, and the facility with which the world they had conquered was ready to assimilate them. It is intelligible how the Muslims came to assimilate the old doctrine of Persian imperialism and fell an easy prey to the culture of their conquered people.[3] In their eager fascination, they did not stop to pick and choose from Persian ideas; they adopted them wholesale in every sphere of life. In political administration, they took over the principles, the organization of various departments, the personality of the Persian monarch—the seraglio, the eunuchs, the slaves and attendants, the State ceremonials, the dresses and royal symbols—the principles of military organization and equipment, the tactics of war, in fact every administrative detail of value; in social manners they borrowed all the Persian ideas of social pleasures and amusements namely the chase, the games of polo and chess, wine, music, songs and the spring-festival of Nau-rūz; in mental culture, they assimilated all the Persian ideas not excluding

---

[1] Compare Kremer, 25 for a quotation of Tartūshī, 'an unjust kingship is better than an hour of anarchy'. It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Ahkām-us-Sultānīya* of Al-Māwardī brings no argument from the Qur'ān or the Muslin law to condemn the existing institution of the Sultanat.

[2] Arnold, 25.

[3] Compare a modern comment on India, Iqbal 176: 'Admire my power of working miracles' exclaimed a Brahman to Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 'Thou who broke all other idols, endeth by enslaving thyself to the charms of Ayāz'.

the science of the interpretation of dreams (Ta'bīr) and the divination of the Magi.[1] Of all these ideas the most significant was the theory of divine right of the Persian Kings. From the centre of Baghdād these ideas spread to Ghaznī, as to other parts of the Muslim world and made their way from there into the Indian plains. At Ghaznī—to which we may look for the source of the political ideas of the Sultāns of Delhi—even the official titles of some of the heads of departments were the same as those at the ancient Persian Court.[2] The crown which Sultān Mas'ūd wore was only a replica of that of the Chosroes in Ctesiphon;[3] in fact, the whole outlook of the Ghaznawid monarchs and their character and function was in no way very different from that of the ancient Persian Sassanians. In other respects this national Persian tradition found its best poetical expression in the celebrated epic of the *Shāh-nāma* which was composed under the patronage of the Ghaznawid court. Herein the legendary heroes of ancient Persia live for ever in the immortal pages of a follower of Muhammad.

Now, the distinctive feature of the Persian monarchy, as has been mentioned, was its claim to divine origin. In relation to his subjects, the Sassanian monarch was 'their lord and master, absolute disposer of their lives, liberties, and property; the sole foundation of law and right, incapable himself of doing wrong, irresponsible, irresistible—a sort of god upon earth; one whose favour was happiness, at whose frown men trembled, before whom all bowed themselves down, with the lowest and humblest obeisance'.[4] Islām could not easily be reconciled to this bare-faced exposition of despotism, least of all to the divinity of a person on which the whole theory of despotism rested. This difficulty was solved by associating the virtue of divinity with the office of the Sultanate rather than with the person of the Sultān. He was designated as 'Zill-ullāh' the shadow of the Divine Being.[5] This, however, did not stop divine honours from being paid to a Sultān, or a monarch from ruling over people 'as a god in human form'.[6] In Hindūstān especially, no attempt was made to conceal the position. People had to prostrate themselves before the Sultān of Delhi when he was present, and to stand up even when his name was mentioned as a mark of solemn reverence; when at a distance from Delhi, they bowed towards the seat of the Sultanat.[7] Salutations were offered to the vacant royal

---

1 Compare Rawlinson, Seventh Monarchy, Ch. XXVIII.

2 Compare Rawlinson, Seventh Monarchy, 641-642, e.g. *Dabir*, *Akhurbeg*.

3 Compare *ibid.*, 640 and T.F , 72.

4 Rawlinson, Five great monarchies III, 202

5 Compare an early reference, T.F.M., 12.

6 Compare an interesting reference in F.J., 160.

7 Compare K.K., 221; K.R., II, 74; *ibid.*, I, 62.

throne whenever a person passed by it, even to the wooden sandals and quiver put on the throne as the symbol of monarchy.[1] It is related of the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, that on the occasion of a public audience, a curtain was drawn before him; and when it was drawn, the whole gathering exclaimed: 'Behold the illumination of the Divine Being'. The same monarch was similarly credited with possessing super-human powers.[2] Under these circumstances, it is to be forgiven if the fancy of a chronicler compared the officers of a Sultān to Gabriel and other angels attending on Allāh.[3] Abu'l Fazl was encouraged to advance a step further. He elaborated the mystic theory of 'The Perfect Man' (*Insān-i-kāmil*), to prove that Akbar had realized the mysteries of human life and was absorbed into the Reality like a Yogī.[4] An appropriate ceremonial was therefore devised for the public audience of the Mughal emperor: one man cried '*Allāh-o-Akbar*' ('God is Great or *Akbar*' implying that Akbar the emperor was an incarnation of God); and the other responded by saying '*Jalla-Jalālo-hū*' (literally 'May his glory increase'. The phrase however mingles the name of Akbar, 'Jalāl').[5]

This was obviously a very difficult position for the followers of Muhammad to reconcile with the Qur'ān. Reference will be made later to the position of the theologians who compromised with the monarchy, and the puritans and Sūfīs who broke away from the monarchy, in fact from the whole Muslim Society. It suffices for the moment to say that the position was so safe that 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī contemplated founding a religion; Muhammad Tughluq was credited with similar intentions; and Akbar actually founded a new faith.[6]

Under such circumstances, the Sultān of Delhi was in theory an unlimited despot, bound by no law, subject to no ministerial check, and guided by no will except his own. The people had no rights, only obligations; they only lived to carry out his commands.[7]

---

[1] Compare K.R., II and for sanda, worship, M.T.I., 384-5; the latter may have been borrowed from the ancient Hindu practice as referred to in the story of Rāmāyana.

[2] For the curtain ceremony, compare M.T.I., 446 which is supported by other evidence. This ancient custom of the Sassanians is referred to later in a quotation from Huart. For super-human claims, T.W., 57.

[3] Compare B., 578.

[4] Compare A.N.I., 5.

[5] Compare a description in A.A.I., 160. For a parallel, see S.I., 313, 326-327 for 'the image of God on earth' in the 'Policraticus' of John of Salisbury; also Shastri, preface, XIII.

[6] For 'Alā-ud-dīn, see B., 262–264.

[7] Compare the doctrine of expediency vs. the teachings of the Qur'ān in B. 400-1. Compare the gift of his sovereignty by Humāyūn to a water-carrier and slave and Kāmrān's criticism of the act, T.W., 25*b* and A.N.I., 160. Compare the amusing story of a Sultān of Bengal signing away Isfahān to a visiting merchant and how his councillors,

The position of the Sultāns was made easier in the Indian environment by the submissiveness of the masses of the people, and by Hindu institutions and political traditions. In ancient times tyrants as well as benevolent monarchs had ruled India, but all this depended on the personal attributes of a monarch ; the system did not recognize the right of the people to active participation in the State.[1] It is somewhat difficult to see how the Hindus of Hindūstān could resist the development of despotic rule in view of the existence of village communities and the system of caste. I will add a word to explain the political significance of these two factors in Hindu social life.

The Indian village communities, once familiarized by Sir Henry Maine, have found a host of enthusiastic but somewhat uncritical admirers, who have not hesitated to compare them with any self-sufficient and self-governing political community, even with those of the Greek city-states. For a time they were believed to be a peculiar racial gift of the Aryans. However, it is being slowly realized now, that instead of being a peculiarity of a race or a country, the village communities only represent a distinct phase in the social development of mankind. The right of the commune appears in the indivisibility of the common waste and forest lands and the regulation of vacant shares. It was probably suffered to be independent in certain matters of internal concern, in making certain rules, in the choosing of the elders, in distributing among its members the direct taxes which the Government imposed.[2] If the available records of Indian village communities in the past can be any guide in the matter, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that their existence has helped rather than checked the despotic tendencies of Indian monarchs. The life of an Indian village community is too insular, its groups too isolated, and the whole of its out-

---

who dared not remind him that Isfahān was not included in his dominions, met the situation, Raverty 579. See remarks of Baranī in B(MS.) 114—compare as a parallel the advice of Occleve to Prince Henry in S. III, 500: that 'Lawe is both lookke and key of suerte'. Compare also T.W., 106 where Humāyūn reminds his followers of the magnificent example of sacrifice shown by the 12,000 guards of the Safavī monarch Ismā'īl who jumped into a ravine to fetch his falling handkerchief and thus perished to a man.

[1] Compare Tod, I, 376 where he explains how the virtues of a Rājput monarch will exalt a kingdom to the summit of prosperity as the vice of a successor will plunge it into the abyss of degradation : again in II, 939 where he speaks of the permanent exclusion of the people from all share in the State under Rājput rule.

[2] Compare Mill, I, 313-14 for a report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the village communities of India; compare Kovalevsky for Russian village communities, pp. 72, 82-3, 92; compare Tod, I, 574, where he makes it plain that the legislation of the village commune in minor matters only shows the neglect of the State, which extracted heavy taxes from the people without providing them with laws for guidance or police for protection.

look too occupational, to form a useful asset to the political life of the country. In times of exceptional danger, a commune organized some sort of defence and guarded the village from the inroads of an invader.[1] But such instances of concerted action are more or less on the same footing as their measures for protecting their crops from a pest of locusts, or their homes from a band of robbers. It does not show any wider political consciousness than what was absolutely necessary to preserve themselves and their home-lands. Even in such cases, the attitude of propertyless and segregated low castes dwelling on the skirts of the village may have been uncertain. For our immediate purpose, it may safely be concluded that the village communities of Hindūstān, which comprised the vast majority of the population, did not present any serious administrative problem to the Sultāns of Delhi.[2] We are not concerned here with their economic and social aspects.

The second factor is the caste system with its necessary corollary, the theory of *Dharma*. It has been rightly held that caste and the Hindu theory of *Dharma* encourage a feeling of charity and consideration towards both men and animals and lead to a general contentment among the people.[3] It may be further conceded that the institution of caste has greatly contributed towards the preservation of Hindu society. All these considerations, though very strong, are hardly sufficient to justify the system. Politically, it means the permanent domination of the higher classes over the lower, which results in the decay of both. Among the main features of the caste system: it leads to the creation of a leisured class composed of the learned and the strong, with supposed inborn attributes and inherited privileges, and another class composed of labourers to whom it assigns a degraded social status; finally, it gives these ingenious arrangements the most sacred and positive sanctions. The spiritual basis for this doctrine was supplied by the doctrine of *Karma* or the Law of the Deed. So that the argument is purely scriptural and places the inequalities of the caste system on a moral order of which God's will is the guardian and embodiment, and the created beings have only to thank themselves for their ill plight.[4] From these, follows the theory of *Dharma* or the respective duties of various castes, though the term is difficult to render in a foreign language.

The reaction of these theories was bound to be far-reaching on Hindu political thought. Hindu religious ideas began to predominate in both the State and the Church, in fact the State

---

[1] Compare K.R., II, 92–94 for an instance of resistance. Many other instances are found in the accounts of Tīmūr's invasions.

[2] Compare the opinion of Moreland, Agrarian system, etc., 64.

[3] For instance, by F. W. Thomas.

[4] Compare Carpenter, 321. For an illustration of Dharma, see P.P. 110-111.

began to represent only an agency to enforce a part of the religious ordinances. To every part of the State religion assigned its proper function, to transgress which was not only a crime against the State but also a sin against the Divine Being. According to this conception of State, the king was held to rule by divine right and to be in a sense a god himself, being only tied to the advice of a Brahman. Provisions were made to secure a sort of benevolent and paternal monarch, without, however, any right of rebellion on the part of the subjects against him if he turned out otherwise. The appeal was limited to his conscience, and if he violated the *Dharma*, consolation, if any, could be drawn from the belief that the outraged law would avenge itself on a tyrant in a second and inevitable birth.[1] The Hindu monarchs who arose, especially during our period when the possible check of Brahman hierarchy had ceased to operate, approximated to the Muslim ideal of a Sultān.[2] In one prominent instance, when Mahārājā Sāngā was once wounded and disfigured in a battle against the Lodī Sultān Ibrāhīm, he hesitated to mount the throne, as it was an 'ancient and well-established rule in India that when an idol was injured and a part of it knocked off, it ceased to be a fit object of worship and another was installed in its place. Similarly, the royal throne being a place of worship for the people, its occupant should also be a person who is entire and who is able to render full service to the State'.[3] This is not the proper place to discuss the merits of the theory of divine monarchy, but one observation may be made to explain the political situation on the eve of Muslim conquest. When a king aspires to the position of a divine being, he deprives himself of the privilege of suffering misfortunes and miseries like other human mortals, while maintaining his position in spite of them. He rules only so long as he succeeds; one little disaster, one chance defeat, and the whole fabric of the State breaks down. Under such a scheme of government, the masses of people, already living in intellectual isolation, become ever more indifferent to the fortunes of their monarch and the political destiny of their kingdom. It may be questioned under these circumstances if a feeling of patriot-

---

[1] Compare F. W. Thomas, 9-10; compare Vidyāpati for plotting as a sin in P.P. 115.

[2] Compare Vidyāpati for the popular conception of an ideal Hindu monarch: he who is well versed in the science of punishment, enjoys pleasures, conquers the four quarters, kills all his foes in battle, offers oblations to the fire and sacrifices to the deities and distributes gold among the supplicants. *Vide* P.P. 164, 166. Curiously enough both the Muslim and the Hindu terms for politics (*Siyāsat* and *Danda-nīti*) are identical in meaning and significance. It may be suggested, though there is little evidence at present to support the suggestion, that perhaps ancient Persia was the common source of both Hindu and Muslim political ideas from which both of them borrowed independently at different intervals.

[3] Compare Sarda, Sanga, 58-59.

ism ever extends to the people as a whole outside the ruling classes.[1] The political situation in India was still more aggravated by the inborn incapacity of the Rājputs to form a strong and united government, and consequently their willing or unwilling assent to the existence of the supremacy of an outside power.[2]

Under the accumulated force of all these principal political factors, the Hindu political structure gave way at the first approach of a powerful foreign invader. The masses of the people had seen the Huns, the Scythians, the Kushans, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Rājputs ruling over them. There was nothing particularly repulsive in an Arab, a Turk, or any other Muslim for that matter. No sooner did the Arab set his foot on the soil of Sind than the Hindu Jāt offered to help him, and the other outcasts welcomed him ; the great majority of people watched the fight of the ruling classes and the foreign invader with indifference, and the defeat of the former with a feeling relief. The approach of the Turkish invader witnessed a similar spectacle.

After this digression, let us revert to the Sultān and examine how his powers though absolute and unlimited in theory had to submit to certain well-marked modifications in actual practice. In the circumstances so far dwelt upon, the Sultāns (as their Hindu predecessors before them) were faced with an irresistible temptation to confine the main functions of government to what were usually termed the two royal duties of *Jahāngīrī* and *Jahāndārī*, or the conquest and consolidation of new territories. Small, prosperous, and well-managed kingdoms were outside the scheme of their political ideas. Hardly a true Sultān but was haunted by the ambition of territorial expansion, until at last the invasions of the Deccan were looked upon as a 'necessary departmental section of the administration of Empire'.[3] To begin with, before the possessions of Iltutmish were consolidated, dreams of conquest began to overpower the imagination of Sultān Balban who worked out his ideas almost with the precision of mathematical formulæ. He was extremely sorry that the state of affairs in his kingdom did not permit him to put them into practice against the distant kingdoms of Hindu rulers.[4] It was a most miserable situation

---

[1] Compare the sentiments of Lalla, Temple, 207 ; compare Macauliffe, I, 109, 117 for Nānak.

[2] Compare Z.W., II, 807 for an interesting case where the mother of Hamīra Deva of Ranthambhor herself stops the Rājput chief from shooting his enemy, the Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī of Delhi, and supports the moral right of the Sultān to rule over the Rājputs ; compare Tod's estimate of the Rājputs, Vol. I, 483 ; compare the theoretical appreciation of a united government in a story of J.H., 86.

[3] E. Thomas, 187.

[4] Compare B., 51 for this formulation : Balban believed he could conquer and consolidate a new territory with 100,000 combatants and

indeed for a Sultān to find himself occupied with the prosaic problems of every-day administration, when another adventurous and fortunate leader of men was leading his armies into the field or besieging a fortress.[1] Distance and physical barriers were no impediments to this ambition for conquest. Bakhtyār Khaljī had very early pointed the way in the direction of Tibet.[2] At a later date Muhammad Tughluq was making plans to conquer Khurāsān to the west and other lands beyond. In this respect, however, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī leads them all, for he dreamt of going about the world as the second Alexander, and ruling the kingdom of Delhi, as so many others, through a deputy.[3] When the monarch condescended to confine himself to the conquest of the Deccan, for practical reasons, this position was only too mortifying to the ambitious monarch and to his rich imagination. Briefly speaking, the Sultāns went on conquering one country after another until the kingdom became too unwieldy for administrative purposes and sank under its own weight. However, the growth of the Sultanat symbolized continuous territorial expansion and warfare. This conspicuous feature of the Sultanat imperceptibly set certain limits to the unbounded powers of the monarch. No foreign conquest was possible without peace within the kingdom. Before making war on the enemy, it was necessary for the Sultān to make peace with his own subjects.[4]

Again, the necessity of organizing the administration of the country made it incumbent upon the Sultāns to acknowledge at least some elementary principles of civilized government, strict adherence to some standards of justice between various classes being one of them. For the collection of taxes and Government dues, it was similarly essential to give security and protection to the vast masses of peasants and craftsmen, even against the members of the ruling classes, which further implied an outward respect for and tolerance of their deep-rooted sentiments. Hindūstān, like other agricultural countries, is a land of deep-seated custom and tradition; although the Muslim Sultān and his nobles may smile over the fanciful laws and the ludicrous practices of the Hindus, or even attempt to reform their ways where they appear to be palpably monstrous, they

---

12,000 persons willing to settle down and colonize; compare Tod, II, 594 for a similar view of Rājputs: 'with two thousand men you may eat *khichri*; with one thousand *dāl-bhāt*; with 5 hundred *juti* (the shoe), i.e. indelible disgrace'.

[1] Compare the sentiments of Sher Shāh in T.S.S., 51; another characteristic expression in Q.S., 48-49.

[2] Compare Raverty, 560.

[3] Compare the feelings of 'Alā-ud-dīn on the subject in Baranī B. (MS.), 137.

[4] Compare the wise remarks of 'Afīf in a verse in A., 471, 'Make peace with thy subjects and then brave thy enemy; for the army of a just Sultān is composed of all those people over whom he rules'.

may not ridicule Hindu manners in public, much less supplant them. As a matter of fact, the iconoclastic Muslims soon learned to admire and to assimilate Hinduism and Indian customs to such a degree that the pious Muslim invader Tīmūr made it an excuse for attacking the territory of the Muslim kingdom of Delhi.[1]

Another limitation was put on the powers of the Sultān by the requirements of a faith which he professed in common with other members of the ruling classes. The Sultān may not have been a believing Muslim in his private life or cared seriously for the welfare of the faith, but he had to maintain an outward show of respect for the rituals and the symbols of Islām; in the case of the early Sultāns of Delhi, their faith was about the only principle of union and cohesion in the conquering tribe. A show of respect to Islām further enhanced the prestige of the ruler.[2]

The exalted nature of the office of the Sultān, surrounded as it was by a halo of divinity, compelled the monarch to conform to a standard of benevolence and generosity far above other people. In this respect a long and hallowed tradition of magnanimity, chivalry, forgiveness, generosity, benevolence, and of other noble virtues was built around the person of the Sultān, which made the rule of a despot not only possible but also attractive. Both the Persian and the Indian traditions were rich in this direction.[3]

For practical and administrative reasons, the monarch had to follow a definite course of policy. In the very beginning he did not go very far beyond paying his soldiers and his nobles handsome emoluments and showing a general indulgence and benevolence to the people under his rule. In course of time, however, when the militant fury of the invader cooled down, and the warrior learned to turn his sword into a ploughshare, the Sultanat added other normal functions of peaceful administration. The Sultān now began to be looked upon as a public protector and undertook to guard the security of high-ways, to provide facilities for trade and commerce, to give his subjects relief in famines and other calamities and to give even-handed justice and redress for every wrong committed against anyone. These paternal features of the Sultanat come into prominence as we proceed towards the close of the period.[4]

---

[1] Compare Z.N.K., 123; Z.N., 422.

[2] Compare an examination of the religious nature of the Muslim invasions in Muhammad Habib's 'Mahmud of Ghaznī'.

[3] For the treatment of these virtues, see chapter on 'Manners'—compare Tod I, 366-7 for illustration from Rājput history.

[4] Compare I.K.I., 18, 19–26, 37-38, where Amīr Khusrau estimates the achievements of Sultān, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī not only by his conquests in the Deccan but also by the measures with which he attempted to secure the administration of justice, the prosperity of the people and the security of the empire.

In short, though theoretically there were no conceivable limits to the power of a Sultān, the facts of the case and practical necessities set many limitations to the sovereignty of a monarch, to adapt it to the Indian environment and make a healthy development of society possible.[1]

We come now to the next phase of our enquiry, how and to what extent the religious ideals of Islām were affected by the purely secular nature of the Muslim State. We have noted in the beginning how the practical politics of Islām were divorced from the theory of the Qur'ān with the transfer of governmental machinery from Madīna to Damascus. This transfer of power to Syria also synchronised with a deeper change of outlook among the rulers of Islām, hardly contemplated by the Prophet. Muhammad had lived in want and poverty all his life. He was proud of being poor, and is even credited with insisting that his genuine followers should follow him in this respect and should not amass wealth and property.[2] His 'Companions' and immediate successors observed these traditions of simple and poor living. With the fall of the rich cities of the neighbouring empires and especially of Madā'in, when wealth began to pour into the capital of Islām and the followers of Muhammad began to grow fond of the good things of this world, pious and far-seeing Muslims began to feel disturbed at the prospect of material advancement and spiritual impoverishment. However, nothing could stop the tide from setting in, and the consequent changing of the spiritual outlook for the worse. As early as the reign of the third Caliph, 'Usmān, Abū Zar Ghifārī, a pious and well-known 'Companion' of the Prophet was exiled into the desert for no greater crime against Islām than that of condemning the growing wealth and the materialistic outlook of the Muslim community, in uncompromising terms.[3] When the Muslim power moved to Baghdād, these decaying relics of early Islām were left far behind, and, as has been pointed out, the Muslim Caliphs and the Sultāns came out as the exact copy and true successors of the old Persian emperors. Religion and spiritual acquirements were more or less out of place in the new

---

[1] Compare Lybyer, 19, for the view of one of the earliest Muslim political philosophers of Central Asia which he summarises in a few verses :—

> 'In order to hold a land, one needs troops and men ;
> In order to keep troops, one must divide out property ;
> In order to have property, one needs a rich people ;
> Only laws create the riches of a people :
> If one of these be lacking, all four are lacking ;
> When all four are lacking, the dominion goes to pieces.'

[2] Compare some traditions in Wensick, 188.

[3] For details of this instructive story, see Muir, 225.

atmosphere.[1] On the other hand the demands of flesh and the devil began to be cultivated with a fervour and enthusiasm worthy of a better cause.[2] When the Muslims established themselves in Hindūstān, the rich plains and the resources of the country opened up greater opportunities of indulgence than were at the command of the Ghaznawid monarchs in their mountainous country, or elsewhere in the Muslim world. When the Muslim State developed, it incorporated many non-Islamic features apart from the powers and the nature of monarchy. For instance, the Sultanat was based purely on force; tyranny was essential for its working; the State treasury was the personal property of the Sultān; extravagant and wasteful expenditure was the rule; an indiscriminate shedding of blood irrespective of the distinction of Muslim and non-Muslim was dictated by the policy of the State.[3] Even considerations of kinship had no place in the theory of monarchy; the murder and assassination of kinsmen, however repugnant to the sense of religion or humanity, were committed without much sense of shame or fear of public opinion.[4] In other respects, the working of the Sultanat super-imposed upon Muslim law quite novel features, hard to reconcile with the dictates of *the Sharī'at*, but essential for the 'exigencies of better government'.[5] Similarly, the Sultanat violated many well-known laws of Islām, for instance, the principle of electing a monarch, the law of inheritance defining the shares of inherited property and the principles of apportioning them, the strict distinction between what is permitted (*halāl*) and what is forbidden (*harām*). In fact, as a

---

[1] Compare an amusing story of Mahmūd of Ghaznī in T.F.I., 61: how a rich merchant of Nīshāpur was accused of Carmatian heresy and brought before the Sultān for trial. The 'just' monarch, on the merchant's surrendering his wealth to him, gave the accused a certificate bearing witness to his orthodox and correct beliefs and acquitted him. Similarly, the story of Mahmūd's plan of occupying Gujarāt and exploiting the gold mines of Pegu and Serendīp and his violent grief on parting with his treasure on his death-bed.

[2] Compare T.B., 135 for Prince Mas'ūd's residential quarters in Herāt, their sensuous surroundings and the concealed gallery of nude female paintings. See numerous stories of drinking in the same book.

[3] Compare T.D., 6 for the basis of the State: B. 188-189 for a discussion on tyranny and extravagance, and pp. 292-293 on the position of the State treasury. Compare the question of shedding Muslim blood in relation to the Sultanat in Baranī, B. 235-36; and B (MS.) 100.

According to the clear injunctions of the Qur'ān, shedding of Muslim blood is one of the capital offences against Islām (*vide* 4 : 93). Compare also, Baranī's estimate of Balban, who, religious in other respects, had no scruples in shedding blood—in B. 47-48.

[4] Compare Khusrau's remarks in D.R., 241. Compare as a parallel the interesting enactment of Sultān Muhammad II of Turky authorizing the heir-apparent to execute his brothers. Lybyer, 9.

[5] Compare Baranī's exposition of the seven recognized cases of capital punishment, out of which four cases were unknown to Muslim law—B. 511.

shrewd statesman of the age observed, the Sultanat had formulated its own laws, which were on a different footing from those of Islām. The laws of the Sultanat could be summarised in one phrase—the will of the Sultan.[1] Any, even the loosest interpretation of political ideals of the Qur'ān, could not be reconciled with this glaring and bare-faced absolutism. However, there was no power in the hands of religious people to compel the Sultanat to modify its political ideals. The division between the practical politics and the religious ideals of Islām became as clear as can be imagined. There were only two courses left for religious-minded people to follow: either to leave the Sultān severely alone in his undisputed possession, or to come to terms with him. The extreme Sūfīs and the ascetics adopted one course, the '*Ulamā* or the theologians the other. It was as unwise as it was unpractical in a country where the Muslims were surrounded by 'infidels' on all sides, to drag matters to extremes. The orthodox theologians had associated too long with the secular government to care for a doubtful martyrdom in a fierce civil war. The orthodox and puritanical section of the Sūfīs and the ascetics as a whole, preferred to retire from the world to devote themselves to the care of the spirit, which after all was all that mattered to them.[2] We have already pointed out that, short of interference in state matters, the Sultāns were willing to safeguard the honour and observances of Islām irrespective of their personal attitude towards religion. In these circumstances it was comparatively easy to come to an understanding with at least one class of religious persons, the orthodox '*Ulamā*. Just at the commencement of the Muslim rule in Hindūstān, we find a statesman and scholar summarizing the position as follows. According to him, the religious functions of a Sultān were confined to the following specified duties; namely, the reading of the *Khutba* for the Friday and 'Īd prayers; the fixing of the extent and the limits of religious prohibitions; the collecting of taxes for charitable purposes; the waging of wars in defence of the faith; the adjudication of disputes when the parties were Muslim, and the hearing of complaints; the enforcement of measures for the defence of the kingdom and the extermination of rebels and disturbers of the peace; finally, the suppression of innovations in religion and religious practices which militated against the spirit of Islām.[3] The Sultān further set apart certain funds from his treasury for religious and charitable purposes, as a matter of grace, though it was no

[1] Compare B. (MS.) 96-7 for an instructive discussion of the whole question between Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn and his nephew Áhmad Chap.

[2] Compare the sentiment of Khusrau in D.R., 21-2; also compare Hāfiz—Brown II, 279 Princes (alone) know the secrets of their kingdom. O Hāfiz, thou art a beggarly recluse; hold thy peace.

[3] Compare Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh in T.F.M., 13-14.

part of his religious duties towards Islām.[1] At a later date Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī relates what Sultān Iltutmish thought of the relations between Islām and the Sultanat. The monarch did not hesitate to admit the pagan extraction and the essentially secular nature of the Sultanat. He also frankly confessed that there was absolutely no room within the state for a monarch to take up the rôle of a 'defender of the faith' (*Dīn-panāh*) except in four specific matters: first, in maintaining the purity of the Muslim creed, which implied the suppression of aggressive heathenism and a general support towards the observance of Muslim doctrines; secondly, in punishing glaring and open lapses from the approved orthodox conduct, within the limits of his kingdom; thirdly, in appointing genuinely religious and God-fearing Muslims to the religious offices in the government; and lastly, in administering justice without distinction to everybody.[2] This statement of position does not differ in a substantial degree from the earlier exposition. For practical purposes the only tangible result was as follows:—the Sultān appointed a few religious-minded and influential Muslims to certain judicial posts, and thereby disarmed the opposition by snatching from them all potentially dangerous and capable leaders. He further undertook to defend Islām in a general way which, as has been pointed out, was in any case necessary to maintain the identity of the Sultāns and even their existence in what one might call the vast ocean of Hindu population.

To give a form to their religious functions, the Sultāns of Delhi instituted a number of fictitious ceremonials. They created a few religious offices like that of the *Shaikh-ul-Islām* and the *Sadr-us-sudūr* with which we are not concerned here. Among the ceremonials: the form of the religious *Bai'at* (oath of fealty to the *Imām* or the religious head of Islām) was maintained; the reign of the monarch opened with a consequential change in the bidding prayer (*khutba*) which was solemnly read from the pulpit of the principal mosque, and an appropriate legend was inscribed on the new coinage.[3] The Sultān usually appointed a *Mashaf-bardār* (Qur'ān-bearer) who carried about the Holy Book with solemnity and becoming dignity.[4] Handsome endowments were made for religious institutions and the study of Muslim theology, and several mosques were constructed. The Sultān attended the Friday prayers, and in any case, joined the congregation in the 'Īdgāh for the two annual prayers with great pomp and ceremony.[5] In other respects,

---

[1] For example compare T.F.M., 35. [2] Compare B., 41–4.

[3] For Bai'at compare instances in Raverty 649 and 246; T.M.S., 459.

[4] Amīr Khusrau occupied the post of a Qur'ān-bearer. Compare B., 198.

[5] For a description of a royal procession of 'Īd, see chapter on 'Amusements'.

he avoided giving provocation and offence to the susceptibilities of the people by an open breach of the Muslim law. For instance, the excessive number of his wives and concubines was confined to the closed Haram, and the drinking of wine was done in private except on very exceptional occasions. The occasions of political wars against the Hindu rulers were especially reserved for the display of aggressive religious fervour, and the spirit of (*Jihād*) militant zeal; though no indiscreet effusions were tolerated against the Hindu subjects of the state as a rule. Mysticism and deeply religious platitudes were frequently discussed in royal circles. In one case, a provincial Sultān even scrupulously enquired regarding 'the supply of lawful vegetables for his table', though the farce was a little over-done, since the Sultān was, at the same time, carrying on war against a brother Muslim with all the fervour of religious *jihād*.[1] The '*Ulamā*, for their part, undertook to forge or find religious and moral support for the Sultanat, thereby strengthening the position of the Sultāns of Delhi. The Qur'ānic injunction 'Obey Allāh and obey the Apostle, and those in authority from among you' was discovered to be full of great possibilities of ingenious interpretation. The reigning Sultāns of Delhi were identified with the person meant in the text 'those in authority from among you' (*Ulul-amr-i-min-kum*). Suitable supporting Traditions of the Prophet were similarly discovered purporting to mean that obedience to the commands of an *Imām* (in this case, the Sultān) was similar to obedience rendered to the injunctions of Muhammad or the commandments of Allāh. Thus by simple logic, the status of a Sultān was raised to that of a Divine being, in matters of obedience. Every breach of royal command, grievous sin as it was, involved a dire punishment in the next world. It was not open to the Muslims to exercise the right of choosing an *Imām*. They had simply to carry out his orders, even if the Sultān was 'a slave and a negro and mutilated of form'.[2] In other respects, the 'Ulamā preached the new doctrine that the secular state was a twin sister of the faith, only different in the nature of its functions. From this standpoint, the functions of a Sultān were hardly inferior to those of the Prophets of the Lord; in fact, just as the prophets guide the world in spiritual matters, so the Sultāns

---

[1] Compare C.H. I, III, 361 for the anecdote. For the position of the Hindus in the state, see an article of Professor Muhammad Habib in the Hindustan Review, 1924 'The empire of Delhi, etc. etc'. Compare the remarks of Abu'l Fazl in A.A., II, 2 how Akbar attempted to 'convert the thorny field of enmity into a garden of amity and friendship'. His efforts in cementing the two communities of Hindus and Muslims are well known though it is often forgotten that his measures would have been almost fruitless without the groundwork of his predecessors in this direction.

[2] Compare for a discussion of the question T.F.M., 12-13; for the verse of the Qur'ān. Holy Qur'ān, 4 : 59.

also conduct secular matters which is only a counterpart of the same function.[1] They gave their support to the doctrine that every resistance to royal commands was a criminal act on the part of the person so resisting, even though the monarch was a tyrant, and absolutely and palpably in the wrong, and the person so resisting was avowedly striving to restore equity and justice in the dominions.[2] In this case, the person accused of resisting the royal commands was not only a dangerous criminal in the eyes of the state, but also a heinous sinner in the eyes of the sacred law of Islām ; so that, if he happened to be killed, a decent burial was not his share ; he was doomed to die unmourned and unsung. The theologians, similarly, authorized the state to expropriate from people any property or money it deemed fit in cases of military exigencies, and to distribute it 'among the soldiers of Islām'.[3] In short, the 'Ulamā subscribed to the proposition: 'He who obeys the Sultān, obeys the Lord Merciful'.[4] When the Mughul Emperor Akbar laid claims to the exclusive religious and secular leadership of the Indian Muslims and the whole country agreed to this position without much protest, it was only a natural consummation of these developments. Under this dispensation, *the Imām-i-'Ādil* ('the just Imām,' otherwise the Sultān) acquired the right of superseding the consensus of the most approved theological opinion on any point at issue, and of giving his own interpretation to the injunctions of the Qur'ān guided by very general provisions ; nor was his decision to be disputed by anybody in the kingdom. This was the pinnacle of secular power ; Islām became not only subordinate, but actually and definitely subservient to the state. The state in its turn assumed a divine character, both the benevolence and the persecutions of a monarch being divine attributes.[5] We do not deny that many orthodox theologians like Badā'ūnī did not submit to this position, or only submitted with extreme reluctance, and that

---

[1] Compare T.M.S., 331 for the position of the state in relation to religion, also a shrewd interpretation of Mahmūd Gāwān on the verse of the Qur'ān 21 : 105 'the pious alone inherit the earth'—R.I., 36.

[2] Compare the reflections of Baranī, Khvāndmīr and Firishta in B. 27, K. 122 and in the preface of T.F. respectively. It became quite popular later to commence a book by emphasizing the essentially divine and spiritual nature of monarchy. Compare for instance, Abu'l Fazl.

[3] Compare for fuller discussion F.F., 191-2.

[4] Compare Thomas E., 249–250 for this super-inscription on the coin of Muhammad Tughluq and the clever use he wanted to make of this popular though fabricated Tradition, in passing his brass coins for silver ; compare also Burn, 8. It is wrong, however, to suppose that it is an injunction of the Qur'ān. The fact that this saying cannot be traced in any authentic book of Traditions, lends the strongest support to the view that it was a fabrication.

[5] For a discussion of Akbar's Infallibility decree, see M.T., II, 210— See another interpretation in *J.R.A.S.*, 1924 ; for persecution as a divine attribute of the Sultān, T.A.I. 1.

some earlier monarchs like Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī tried to be sincerely religious. But such isolated examples were not strong enough to influence the irresistible course of events.

In this connection, it may not be without some interest to note the reactions of these political conditions on some philosophic thought concerning the origins of political society and principles of political obligations, which was formulated on lines not very different from those taken by Hobbes, though much earlier in time.[1] Almost from the very beginning of the establishment of the Sultanat in Delhi, a tradition attributed to the Prophet, like so many others, came to be widely popular. The Prophet was reported to have said 'If there be no Sultān, the people will devour one another'. Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh mentions this in both of his books as a perfectly valid Tradition without examining its source.[2] Like other Traditions purporting to support the institution of Sultanat, probably this was also coined outside India and came to Hindūstān with the invaders, to serve a similar purpose. However, it soon became so popular that such careful chroniclers as Amīr Khusrau and 'Afīf accepted it as an article of faith and in any case as a sound moral and political doctrine.[3] Finally, Muhammad Tughluq inscribed it as a legend on his coin, which removed any suspicion as to its validity.[4] When the governors and deputies of the Sultān succeeded in establishing independent kingdoms for themselves, they borrowed political theories like other royal equipments from Delhi, and this doctrine became equally popular in the provinces.[5] The facts of contemporary social and political life fully vindicated the wisdom of this enunciation. The state appeared to be the only guarantee of peace, security and order. Curious as it may sound, the Hindu reformers pass over the question of Muslim domination in gloomy silence as the inevitable fruit of *Karma* without ever making suggestions for its overthrow or demanding the delegation of powers to the common

---

[1] Compare the exposition of Thomas Hobbes, where dealing with the life in the 'state of nature' and the growing feeling of instituting a common sovereign, he says—Leviathan, 131 :—'The only way to erect such a Common Power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of Foreigners, and the injuries of one another and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their owne industrie and by the fruites of the Earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly ; is to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, etc. etc.'

[2] Compare T.F.M., 13 ; again A.H., 112.

[3] Compare Amīr Khusrau in I.K., II, 9 where he accepts it with reluctance ; compare the appreciation of 'Afīf in A., 4.

[4] The actual text is : لولا السلطان لاكل الناس بعضهم بعضا Edward Thomas (*vide* Appendix, Plate IV) has given a slightly wrong rendering of the legend on the coin though the text as shown in the coin cannot be rendered differently from what I have given. He renders the legend as follows : 'Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man (but) some (are placed over) others.'

[5] Compare for instance, *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī*.

people. They appear to have a supreme and deep suspicion of the incapacity of people to govern themselves.[1] The death, or even long absence or protracted illness of a monarch, was a source of universal anxiety. The sudden death of a monarch sometimes spelt dire confusion. On such eventualities clever ministers used to fabricate bulletins of the Sultān's perfect health, of his movements and even of his victories against his enemies, which only betrays the extreme sense of insecurity among the people in the absence of a visible head of the state, and consequently, the universal conviction that the Sultanat was indispensable, for it was the only agency that secured peace, order and security.[2] The prospect was not very cheerful of reverting to the pre-Muslim centuries of Rājput domination, with its constant civil wars and the repeated incursions of the chiefs into each other's territories, and finally the approach of a foreign invader.

A passing reference may be made here in concluding this discussion, to a class of Muslims who adhered to the original meaning of the Qur'ān and refused to be guided except by the practice of Muhammad and the spirit of his immediate successors. They stoutly refused to recognize all the historical developments of Muslim politics to which we have referred in the preceding pages, and unlike the *'Ulamā* they turned away from every proposal of compromise as resolutely as if from the powers of Evil. In fairness to them, it may be said that no compromise was possible except by surrendering the original spirit and the whole set of principles for which Islām stood. The conviction within them was firm that Muhammad had delivered the final message of Allāh to humanity and it was the sole guide for the Muslim community in every form of its activity on earth. On the other hand the Muslim State had developed out of the hard

---

1 Compare the frank remarks of Kabīr who could not imagine a state of things when people could rule themselves; Shāh, 220.

2 Compare the scene of confusion that followed the death of Muhammad Tughluq in Sind, in C.H., I, III, 173. Compare the devices of the Wazīr of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq during his long absence in Sind and Orissa in 'Afīf's Chronicle; compare Abu'l Fazl for a summary (in A.N.I., 364) and the account of Sidī 'Ali Reīs (Vambery) for the devices which were used on the death of Humāyūn in Delhi, to remove every suspicion from the public mind until Prince Akbar returned to the town. It was officially reported that the Emperor had recovered from a slight indisposition, and to give a practical shape to this bulletin, a stratagem was used. A certain Mulla Bīkasī who bore a striking resemblance to the late emperor was made to impersonate him. He was placed on the imperial throne, arrayed in royal robes; his face and eyes were veiled. The chamberlains and secretaries carried on their official work as was usual for them. 'The physicians were handsomely rewarded' notes the Admiral who was the first to suggest the idea 'and the recovery of the monarch was universally credited.'

facts of life, and in the last resort was strong enough to crush every opposition. The Muslims in general supported the State in all its non-Islāmic features and the great majority among them were frankly materialists and realists. Thus, the champions of the cry of 'Back to Muhammad' were a small fraction of the Muslim community. Now and again, in the early days of Islām when the machinery of the State was ill organized, they actively struggled to get hold of power; but, uncompromising to the core, and not knowing how to win over an enemy by making suitable political alliances and by using other tactics, they usually lost a battle or quarrelled among themselves.[1] With the efficient organization of the Government, this type of person became ever increasingly conscious of his helplessness, and either gave way to morbid despair and reacted towards asceticism and the renunciation of the world, or else made peace with those whom he erstwhile considered the powers of Evil. This spiritual crisis appeared in Islām very early and is reflected in the defeatist literature and the spread of the doctrines of the Mahdavīs all of which began to visualize the millennium and the appearance of the Mahdī to restore the pristine purity of Islām.[2] These doctrines were skilfully exploited by designing political factions against the ruling dynasties and soon lost their spiritual significance. Their place was, however, taken by the universal popularity of asceticism, and the wide spreading of the Sūfī movement, which, nevertheless were hardly contemplated by Muhammad and the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān.[3] No fault whatever could be found with the searching analysis of a Sūfī and his estimate of social conditions, or with his fierce and strictly logical arguments. According to him there could be no room for spiritual life within the organized Muslim society as they were mutually exclusive. It was similarly obvious that those who lived for the world were in the clutches of the Devil, and the man of faith (*Dīn*) could only live for the spirit.[4] It was easy for a Sūfī to meet a politician on his own grounds. He dismissed the cobwebs of the theories of divine monarchy (the 'Zill-ullāh') and the political reasons for its justification. As long as an opponent admitted his allegiance to Islām, he made himself ridiculous before a Sūfī and an ascetic of this type.

But the weak points of the Sūfī were some practical and unavoidable considerations. If logic was in his favour, the power of the whole of organized society was at the call of the

---

[1] Compare Muir, 290 for his analysis of the failures of the Khārijites; E.I, II. 906 for their doctrines.

[2] Compare Krenkow, in I.C., Vol. III, 561-2 for an early book on the subject named 'The book of Strife' written in the third century of the Hijrah.

[3] Compare Holy Qur'ān, 57 : 27.

[4] Compare the reflections in Q., 95.

Sultān, and available to support a man of the world. What, for instance was his solution of the bread problem, the inexorable necessity of sustaining oneself from day to day ? The fanatical Sūfī replied that if the means of subsistence and the providing of worldly needs rested with the Sultān, he would rather go without them than accept them from, what he considered, a tainted source. He looked upon the money coined in the royal mint as taboo and almost as poison. 'If a single copper of the Sultān' so runs the argument of a Sūfī as reported in the pages of Amīr Khusrau 'mingles with a hundred other coins in the keeping of a darwish, that one single copper instead of being purified by its association with others, was sufficient to pollute all of them'.[1] The profession of arms was always attractive to the Muslims and the followers of the Qur'ān, but the ascetic extended a similar prohibition to the following of it, for was it not accessory in establishing the great evil of the temporal power of Islām ?[2] The explosive and combative passion of this class of people once found expression in the Mahdavī movement under the Afghāns (as in the Wahābī movement during the last century), and was more or less foredoomed to failure. Theirs is a tragic though sublime passion which manifests itself now and then in different parts of the Muslim world. The martyr's crown keeps the flame of religious purity burning in every clime and the fading vision only reveals the deep emotions of the human soul. But the Muslim world was hardly better for all these erratic passions. The 'Ulamā, whatever their spiritual significance, did lend a hand, and perhaps not unsuccessfully, in helping the advancement of Muslim society in Hindūstān, instead of harnessing all the religious passions of the Muslims, to impede its progress. Their close contact with politics widened their narrow and religious outlook; so that some of them did not hesitate to compare the service of mankind with the worship of the Divine. In explaining the religious duties of a monarch, the saint Hamadānī of Kashmīr does not forget to include even such minor items as the security of highways from robbers and thieves, the construction of bridges over rivers, and the erection of watchposts, etc.[3] all of which is very different from what was and is even now expected of theologians and religious men. If the 'Ulamā were not bold enough to stop the Muslim State from taking the course it had adopted, at least they did not deprive Muslim society in an alien land of their measure of contribution in building up Muslim culture.

Such was the fate of the 'final' message to humanity given by the last of the religious prophets!

---

[1] Compare I.K., IV, 195–8 for the whole discussion.
[2] *Ibid.*, 272.
[3] Z.M., 110 *b*.

The Sultān.

A. The Sultān as a private person.

After the analysis of the theory of sovereignty given in the preceding pages, it will be clear that the Sultān and the State were more or less coterminous. A division of the personality into private and public in relation to the Sultān is somewhat arbitrary. We have considered it convenient to make this division in order to emphasize the great influence of the monarch on the private life and the social behaviour of various classes of people. The example of the Sultān (or of the Rājā in a Hindu State) was almost literally imitated by those under him, as far as their powers and resources permitted them. In a word the private person of the Sultān set the tone of society in general.[1]

The ambition of the Sultāns of Delhi, as that of the Sassanian monarchs of Persia, was 'to build lofty palaces ; to hold grand levees and to enjoy the spectacle of a world prostrating itself before them ; to accumulate vast hordes of treasure, and to concentrate all the financial power in their hands to bestow them on those they chose to favour ; to appropriate all gold and jewels and then make a gift of them to a greedy and expectant crowd ; to carry on incessant war to establish their supremacy ; to maintain a large establishment of domestics and attendants and *harams*, and to enjoy the satisfaction of spending unlimited wealth on them—in a word the satisfaction of vanity and the acquirement of conspicuous distinction'. Without providing such paraphernalia of royalty, a monarch could hardly be considered a proper monarch, and the *Pādishāh* was hardly worthy of his exalted position. Such was the ideal of the Ghaznawids, as is summarized here in the words of a historian ; and to this, as to the distinguished example of Sultān Mahmūd, the Sultāns of Delhi looked for inspiration and guidance[2] ; in fact, it was the universal outlook of the age.

The royal establishments.

To make himself sufficiently worthy of his exalted position, the Sultān therefore maintained the largest establishment in the kingdom. His palaces, his *haram*, his slaves and retainers, his staff of employees, and finally the crown lands, easily placed him above everybody else in his dominions.

1. *Palaces.*—Building themselves palaces was an old and popular custom of the Persian Kings. Every king wanted a dwelling of his own and had no desire to use those bequeathed to him by a predecessor. He wanted his palaces to remain as a

---

[1] Compare the reflections of Baranī : B., 575.

[2] Compare F.J., 99, 110.

monument of his administration.[1] The Hindu Kings similarly considered it inauspicious to live in a palace where somebody had breathed his last. The Sultāns of Delhi followed the same tradition as far as possible, and began abandoning the old palaces along with their contents, and building their own palaces anew.[2] In the beginning of Muslim rule, two palaces are recorded, one for private residence, *the Daulat Khāna* (or House of Fortune), and the other for official use. They were named *Qasr-i-fīrūzī* (the Palace of Victory) and *Qasr-i-Safīd* (the White Palace) respectively. By the time of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd a third, named *Kūshk-i-sabz* (the Green Palace), had come into being.[3] Later, successive dynasties and even individual monarchs began laying the foundations of new royal cities, with royal palaces, markets, gardens, mosques, roads, and ramparts ; so that Delhi, as it stands to-day, is composed of a dozen or so old royal cities of ancient times, for example Sīrī, Kilokhrī, Shahr-i-nau, Tughluq-ābād, Fīrūzābād, Shāhjahānābād, and others, e.g. the capitals of the old Rājput dynasties. At a later date therefore, Fīrūz Tughluq assigned no less than three palaces for giving audience alone to various grades of people—for the nobles, the companions of the monarch, and for the common people. More will be said about the palaces and royal cities in a later chapter.

2. *Haram.*—The Sultāns (as also the Hindu Rājās), on the whole, were extremely sensual. Women and concubines, as far as we can gather, occupied much of their time ; some of them even maintained a regular department for the supply of choice beauties, without being very much satisfied in their sexual appetite.[4] The monarchs, both Hindu and Muslim, had one chief queen whose children succeeded to the throne, or rather, to put it more correctly, had a prior right where a peaceful and undisputed succession was possible. She had other considerable privileges besides, for instance, the right of guardianship of a

---

[1] Compare Huart, 96.

[2] Compare K.R., II, 47.

[3] Raverty, 661 ; also B. (MS.), 96.

[4] The extreme indulgence of the Hindu Rājās of the South and the thousands of their wives and slaves, are dealt with in the pages of almost all foreign travellers who visited the Deccan. For Hindu examples in Hindūstān : compare the famous case of the Rājput minister of Mālwa who had 2,000 women including Muslim women also—C.H.I., III, 368. Compare the amusing instance of the Rājā of Chāmpānīr who was so busy amusing himself with *Pātars* that he did not realize that Afghān invaders had occupied the town—W.M., 39. For Muslim monarchs hardly any illustrations are required. Compare, however, the extreme indulgence of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād in all kinds of sexual indulgence and the magnanimous forgiveness of similar sins on the part of his subjects ; in fact he thought that if he enjoyed and let others do the same, it was a source of glory in this world and of paradise in the next—B., 99. Consider also—W.M., 81, the wailings of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī of Mālwa who maintained a whole department for female supply but died in the grief that he never met a woman exactly to his liking.

minor son who succeeded to the throne.[1] There was no fixed rule of choice among other queens, mistresses or concubines.[2] It is difficult to decide exactly how far female honour was safe from the approaches and the encroachments of a monarch within his kingdom. We might say on the whole that the Sultāns considered it better policy not to offend delicate sentiments of the Hindu masses. All this, however, depended on the personal views of the monarch, for in cases of misbehaviour on the part of the monarch, there were no means of redress.[3] The case of the women of a deposed monarch was on a different footing. The victor had a perfectly valid right of marrying the wives of the deposed Sultān, and there are records of such marriages against the express wishes of the wife or mistress in question.[4] The Hindu Rājās probably followed the old and cherished traditions of paternal monarchs, though this can by no means be laid down as a rule of general application.[5]

It may be said in this connection that the inmates of a royal *haram* included other female persons besides the wives and concubines of a Sultān, for instance, the mother, the sisters and daughters, in fact all female relations. The mother of a monarch in particular (called *Mā-jī* among the Rājputs) was in some respects a person even more exalted than the chief wife of the Sultān. The Persian tradition and the Rājput custom had both allowed to the mother of the reigning prince a more domineering authority than she had ever exercised as a queen consort.[6]

---

[1] Compare Tod, III, 1370 for the privileges of a chief queen in Rājputāna; and how a *Paṭrānī* or chief queen is publicly enthroned with the Rānā of Mewār. Compare also the blundering guardian of her sons, the chief queen of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī and her mistakes on the approach of 'Alā-ud-dīn towards Delhi, after killing the Sultān.

[2] Compare Tod, I, 358 on the point: 'The number of queens is determined only by state of necessity and the fancy of the prince. To have them equal in number to the days of the week is not unusual, while the number of handmaids is unlimited'.

[3] Compare the Hindu sentiment on the point in P. (hin) 223, 424.—Compare the remarks of Khusrau on helplessness in cases of misbehaviour —M.A., 199.

[4] Compare the statement of Hājī Dabīr in Z.W., III, 854, how Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq had no objection to the usurper Khusrau Khān's marrying Mubārak Khaljī's wives, but only to the want of compliance with the provisions of Muslim law regarding the interval between one marriage and another (or '*Iddat*). Compare similarly Z.W., II, 842 for Mubārak Shāh's compulsion in marrying Dewalrānī, the beloved wife of Khizr Khān which is also hinted at by Amīr Khusrau in his work D.R.

[5] Compare the war of Vijayanagar and the Bahmanī Sultān for a girl C.H.I, III, 391. Compare the designs of a neighbouring Rājā to secure Padumāvat in the absence of Ratan Sen at Delhi in P. (hin), also P.P., 72-3 for a similar story.

[6] For Rājputs, compare Tod, III, 1370; for Persian tradition Rawlinson, Five monarchies, etc., III, 220. Compare the influence of the widow of Iltutmish named Shāh Turkān after the death of her husband—

The life of a Sultān inside the *haram* is so much a matter for the personal concern of a monarch, that the chroniclers reveal to us little, if anything, about this aspect of his life. We can infer from the fact of Sultān Iltutmish suggesting Raziyya as his successor to the throne, that the monarch must have loved her tenderly, and looked after her education and training with great care and interest. The historians make a slight suggestion that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was not very happy with his wife which, according to them, accounts for his first raid into the distant Deccan, undertaken as a relief from his domestic miseries. Hājī Dabīr, however, narrates an amusing incident to prove that this inference was true.[1] Prince Khizr Khān, the son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was extremely happy in the love of his second wife, Dewalrānī. An autographed memoir of the Prince himself, giving the whole story of their romance and marriage, so Amīr Khusrau tells us, is the basis of his famous poem *Dewalrānī Khizr Khān*, which was published after the murder of the Prince and immortalises the love and tragic sufferings of the devoted couple. We get very little information on the subject until we come to the period of the Mughuls. Here we get a closer view of life inside the royal *haram*. The memoirs of Bābur and Gulbadan, as others of later days, disclose to us a picture of happy domestic life with a strong tradition of affection and love which led many credulous travellers to believe in curious tales and scandals.[2]

As regards the organization of the royal *haram*: the reigning Sultān was the head of the whole royal family in an intimate and personal sense. All the members of the royal family, including his queens, were subject to his commands.[3] The

Raverty, 632; compare also the separate charitable establishment of the mother of Muhammad Tughluq—K.R., II, 72.

1 Compare Z.W., II, for the interesting story, how 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī loved a mistress named Māhak which could not long be kept a secret from his wife and mother-in-law. He loved this mistress too deeply to give her up on any account. It happened by chance that once when the lovers were together, the daughter and mother-in-law came upon them. An ugly scene then issued. Probably the incomers belaboured Māhak which led 'Alā-ud-dīn to rescue her forcibly from them. In doing so, he struck his wife, who, incidentally, was the daughter of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, the reigning monarch. As a result of this unpleasantness, 'Alā-ud-dīn went to the Deccan.

2 Compare G., 46, for the feelings of Gulbadan towards her brother Humāyūn when for the sake of greater security and repose she was separated from him and put under the stewardship of Mīrzā Kāmrān. Compare numerous other references in Gulbadan and Bābur-nāma.

3 Compare 'Book of the Court', p. 65, for the legal position of an English queen consort: 'But in general, unless where the law has expressly declared her exempted, she (the Queen) is upon the same footing with her subjects, being to all intents and purposes the King's subject and not his equal'. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 80-1, how the 'care and approbation of His Majesty's grand-children, when grown up' was until 1718 a disputed question, when George I submitted it to the opinion of the Judges, which

inmates of the *haram* and all members of the royal family submitted regular petitions, whenever they wanted to approach the monarch on business, and carried out his orders faithfully. The inmates of the royal *haram* were assigned enclosed and well-guarded lodgings inside the palace. Suitable care was taken that the requirements of the *pardah* were scrupulously carried out. Their care and attendance was assigned to a class of confidential maids and eunuchs, together with hundreds of male and female servants and slaves for domestic service.[1] The royal *haram* was supervised from within by a regular *hākima* or governess born of a noble family, and from without by a *Khvāja-Sarāi* (the chief eunuch) whose office was considered as one of great trust and responsibility.[2] The *haram* of the Mughal emperor Akbar had a regular staff of female inspectors and guards with a female store-keeper (called *Ashrāf*) who took charge of supplies and accounts. She annually submitted the audited account of the expenses incurred during the year and an estimate of expenditure for the next. At night, female guards took charge of the building and of the security of the inmates from within; the *Khvāja-Sarāi* stationed himself with his staff at the entrance, and the faithful Rājput guard patrolled the building.[3] In the kingdom of Mālwa the *haram* developed into a miniature government with regular armies, arts and trades-women and a great bazaar; the King, the only male, decided disputes, and fixed salaries.[4]

3. *Royal Slaves* (*Bandagān-i-Khās*).—We shall discuss the position of the slaves in the next section. Let us, however, note here that slave-holding was a time-honoured institution throughout the Muslim world during the period and until recently, and every nobleman and respectable person kept a few slaves. The royal slaves (or *Bandagān-i-Khās*) were considerable in number and international in their composition, bound together by the bond of service and allegiance to a common master. Having no local connections or interests of their own, the Sultān could always rely on their faithfulness and devotion more than on that of other State officials and nobles. The

brought about the enactment of the Royal Marriage Act some time later. Compare numerous references to petitions in Gulbadan.

1 G., 18.

2 Compare E.D., III, 128, where the office is translated as 'directress of female department'. Note the fact that a daughter of Fakhr-ud-dīn, the famous *Kotwāl* of Delhi, was the supervisor of the *haram* of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād; for Khvāja-Sarāi, see D.R., 101. Compare how the *haram* of 'Alā-ud-dīn was guarded in B., 274.

3 A.A.I., 40; for parallel see Major, 32, the Vijayanagar *haram* arrangements.

4 C.H.I, III, 362. Compare Tod, I, 358, for Rājput *haram* (or *Rawala*) and the skill that is required on the part of the chiefs to manage it: 'The government of the kingdom is but an amusement compared with such a task, for it is within the Rawala, that intrigue is enthroned'.

powers of the Sultān over them as master and king were absolute. He could kill them, give them away or dispose of them in any other way, as he thought fit.[1] In practice, however, the relations between the Sultān and his slaves were anything but unpleasant and hardly gave an opportunity for the exercise of these extreme powers. On the other hand, the slaves were brought up almost as sons and confidantes, so that sometimes when the son of the Sultān was of doubtful capacity or was otherwise unfit to govern the kingdom, the slave of the monarch, who had struggled in the school of adversity and experience, successfully guided the ship of State through troubled waters.[2] Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban are three outstanding examples of royal slaves who rose to power and came to the throne.[3]

The number of royal slaves was usually very large. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī had 50,000 slaves; those of Muhammad Tughluq were so many in number that the Sultān set apart a day of the week to manumit some of them and to confer them in marriage.[4] Fīrūz Tughluq was conspicuous for his solicitude towards his slaves. He encouraged the nobles of the realm to send slaves as annual tribute, for which a corresponding remission was made to them from the treasury. From 50,000 under 'Alā-ud-dīn their number had risen to 200,000 under Fīrūz. The Sultān settled some of them in various towns and fixed their salaries; he employed others in useful arts and religious education; so that about 12,000 of them were craftsmen and masons, and about 40,000 followed the royal equipage.[4] Incidentally, the slaves added to the growing Muslim population of India.

The influence of the royal slaves on the State, in these circumstances, was bound to be considerable. They were associated with the monarch, the source of all power and privilege, in a more intimate sense than other people, and as such, they were exposed as much to danger, as they stood to gain.

---

[1] Compare an instance, B., 273-4.

[2] Compare the feeling of Sultān Muhammad bin Sām of Ghūr on the point—T.F., I, 110; he bequeathed his whole kingdom to his slaves, who succeeded to the throne of Delhi as well, where a whole dynasty of slaves ruled for more than 60 years.

[3] Compare T.M. (II), 95; Raverty, 603-4 and 802, for account.

[4] A., 268–72. For the employment of royal slaves in various crafts, Havell finds the cause in the previous emigration of Hindu craftsmen, on account of Muslim invasion and the general insecurity of life (*vide* History of Aryan rule, 321). I have found no occasion to agree with this analysis. The number of craftsmen under 'Alā-ud-dīn is estimated at 70,000, out of whom 7,000 were masons and stone-workers who are reported to be so skilful in their work that they carried out the construction of a building in a fortnight at the longest (*vide* T.F., I, 217). It is difficult to account for this sudden emigration of the Hindu craftsmen from Hindūstān, especially when the north-west frontier was always menaced by Mongol raiders.

from the royal association. As early as the reign of Sultān Raziyya the royal slaves made themselves felt. Under the successor of Fīrūz Tughluq their influence was decisive.[1] They usually rose to the position of nobles, which will be treated in the next section.

4. *Astrologers, court-poets, musicians, etc.*—The appointment of astrologers at the court of ancient Hindu kings, and the credulity of Hindu monarchs are well known. The Muslim Sultāns were not very different in this respect. Horoscopes were everywhere used, omens were taken, dreams were interpreted, charms were resorted to; in fact, the Qur'ān was not infrequently used in divining the issue of an undertaking. In such circumstances even the minutest detail of royal life was regulated by the court astrologers and other masters of the occult and mysterious sciences. Humāyūn, no mean student of the science of stars, was even contemplating the construction of an observatory, thus forestalling the work of the distinguished scholar and founder of the Jaipur City, Rājā Jai Singh. Astrology is by no means neglected at the present day either in Hindu or Muslim society.[2]

The court-poets and musicians were the brilliant assets of every court in India. Most of the Sultāns could appreciate Persian poetry, and some of them could even improvise verses on occasion. The musicians were equally necessary to sing choice verses, and the Sultāns, in this respect, were only following an old Persian tradition.[3] The court-poets and musicians were similarly necessary for the Hindu court. We shall revert to the subject later. Similarly, there were numerous jesters, tricksters, buffoons, and clowns in every court.[4]

It is difficult to classify the nondescript class of persons who were always to be found in a court. They may be conveniently termed royal favourites. The nature and composition of this class changed with every monarch; they could be low and uncultivated or, on the other hand, noble and refined according to the tastes of the monarch. For the time being their influence was supreme. The royal favourites were usually chosen from among the Muslims in the earlier period of the Sultanat, but as time advanced, Hindus began to rise gradually

---

[1] Compare Raverty, 635.

[2] Compare an early reference in Raverty, 623, and B., 142; compare the many amusing stories of taking omens in the memoirs of Tīmūr and Bābur. Compare the diary of Sultān Tīpū (in India Office collection) which records his dreams and their interpretations. The accounts of Humāyūn are full of amusing stories of superstitious beliefs of every variety.

[3] Compare Huart, 145-6, for Persian tradition and musical instruments which were also used in Hindūstān. Compare Hasan Nizāmī for an early description of flute, mandoline, oboe, and harp. Compare Varthema, 109.

[4] Compare a whole chapter in I.K.; also Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī, 64.

in the confidence of the monarch, until at last they changed the whole outlook of the Sultāns.[1]

5. *Courtiers* (*Nadīm*).—By far the most important and interesting members of the staff of a Sultān were his *Nadīm* or courtiers. Here we come across a class of refined and cultivated men which has left its mark on the manners and culture of Indian nobility even to the present day. The term *Nadīm*, strictly speaking, applies to the boon companions (*yār-i-sharāb*) of a monarch but may be rendered 'courtiers' for want of a better term. Their principal occupation was the entertainment of the Sultān in his leisure hours by adding to the liveliness of his gaiety and pleasures; some of them also accompanied the monarch almost everywhere, as companions and attendants. As a rule, they had no official position in the State, and as far as appears from the records, unless they were asked to give their opinion or were especially attached to the courtiers for consultation; they could not speak to the Sultān on State affairs. Their proximity to the throne and the specially favourable opportunities of studying the humours and the personal weaknesses of the despot, together with their subtlety and craftiness in influencing the will of their royal master, had, however, given them considerable power and influence in the kingdom.[2]

The intellectual equipment of a *Nadīm* was comprehensive. He combined in himself a variety of talent: he knew the niceties of sartorial equipment and personal decoration until it almost became a fine art; his conversation was in the choicest language; his intellectual culture covered a variety of knowledge, namely, the study of the chronicles, the Qur'ān, poetry, folklore, together with some acquaintance with metaphysics and the occult and mystic elements of Islām. Finally, he was an accomplished player of chess and draughts and a fairly good player of some musical instruments. But above all these attainments, his great art consisted in putting the Sultān into good humour, by a careful study of his psychological reactions and his oddities and indiosyncrasies.[3] The Rājput *Bhāts* do not come up to the same standard of refinement and elegance as the *Nadīms* of the Sultān, although their stronger attachment to their masters,

---

[1] Compare Raverty, 635, for an example of their influence; compare the efforts of Pancham the Hindu favourite of 'Alā-ud-dīn in capturing Dewalrānī, D.R., 87; compare the influence of *Khatris* (a class distinct from Kshattriya caste) under the Sayyids—T.M.S., 456-7.

[2] Compare the estimate of Abu'l Fazl in A.A.I., 5; how, if they deviated from the path of rectitude, they could bring disaster on the whole world. Compare how Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī used to discuss questions of State policy with his nephew and courtier Ahmad Chap, in many places in Baranī; also the frank advice of Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn to 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī; similarly, the advice of Baranī to Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, B. 395.

[3] Compare the remarks of Muhammad 'Awfī on the point—J.H., 178.

and their greater courage on occasions, cannot be disputed. In the course of time, the royal courtiers degenerated into vile and mean flatterers and became discredited even in the eyes of their employers.[1] At the present day the term *Nadīm* (or Musāhib) is in some way associated with sycophancy and a certain want of virile qualities.

6. *Household Staff.*—Apart from his *haram*, his slaves and other attendants, and his courtiers, the Sultān employed a host of people to look after the protection of his person, his recreation and his domestic attendance in general. They were organized in separate departments under their own officers and supervisors who were all paid by the monarch from his personal funds and were directly responsible to him. Foremost among the needs of a monarch was that of personal protection.[2] Two separate officers, the *Sar-Jāndār* and the *Sar-Silāhdār*, were charged with this, the former being the first in rank. The *Sar-Jāndār* was the commander of the Imperial Bodyguard. He was a prominent nobleman of the realm and was paid a huge salary.[3] He commanded and supervised the life-guards, composed of the royal slaves, who were conspicuous for their devotion and efficiency.[4] The *Sar-Jāndār* was responsible for the security and protection of the royal person and had summary powers in the execution of his duties.[5] The second officer, the *Sar-Silāhdār*, was the head of the Imperial armour-bearers. The royal sword was in his keeping.[6] His duties, on the whole, were of a ceremonial nature, not unlike those of the bow-bearers of the Sassanian monarchs.[7]

Among other officials in charge of domestic attendance: The *Sar-ābdār* (the predecessor of the *āftābchī* of the Mughals) looked after the washing and toilet arrangements of the Sultān, and followed him with his water keg (*karautī*) when the monarch went out[8]; the *Kharītadār* looked after the royal writing case; the *Tahwīldār*, after the purse[9]; the *Chāshnīgīr* (the predecessor

[1] Compare the contempt of Akbar for some of the class—A.N.I., 319.

[2] Compare the remarks of Balban on the 'vice, temptation, and greed' of the people and the necessity of taking full precautions for the security of the monarch, B. 80.

[3] Compare Raverty, 730. Malik Saif-ud-dīn was assigned 300,000 Jītals for his maintenance allowance.

[4] Compare the remarks of F.J., 71, how of all the combatants on the day of battle, the royal slaves set the example of sacrifice and courage to the whole army and were ready to cast themselves in 'torrential rivers and flaming fires' without hesitation.

[5] Compare Raverty, 730, for the association of *Sar-Jāndār* with bloodshed and torture.

[6] Compare I.K., III, 141.

[7] Compare Rawlinson, Five, etc., III, 209 on the position of the bow-bearer of the ancient Sassanians who was privileged to stand immediately behind the monarch.

[8] Compare B. (MS.), 15; compare Jauhar's description of his function, e.g. T.W., 130.

[9] Compare K.R., II, 63.

of the *Bakāwal* of the Mughals) supervised the royal kitchen, and personally served and attended to the royal dinner, returning to the kitchen with the leavings [1]; the *Sar-Jāmadār* took charge of the royal wardrobe and was responsible for the sartorial equipment of the monarch [2]; the *Tashtdār* attended the Sultān with ewer and washing-basin and the *Sāqī-i-khās* with wines and other drinks; the *Mash'aldār* similarly supervised the lighting arrangements of the palace, and the provision of lamps, candle-sticks, lamp-stands and candelabra,[3] etc. The number of the officials looking after every minute detail of domestic attendance is considerable, but these will suffice to give a fair idea.[4] All these functionaries had a regular staff of subordinates and menials to help them in the discharge of their duties.

In enumerating the officials who looked after royal amusements, I will confine myself in this place to those who supervised the royal stables of horses and elephants and the river boats. A description of amusements will follow later. The horse stables came under the supervision of an eminent noble with the title of *Amīr-i-ākhur* or *Ākhur-bak* (or, in plain Persian, *Amīr-i-astaba-i-shāhī*, Master of the royal stables); the elephant stables under that of a *Shahna-i-pīl* (or Superintendent of the royal elephants). The salary of the latter under Muhammad Tughluq was equal to 'the income of a big province like 'Irāq'.[5] The number of animals in the stables may be judged from the fact that Sher Shāh employed 3,400 horses for royal postal communications in the kingdom, and maintained about 5,000 elephants on an average.[6] There was a separate officer, with the title of *Shahna-i-bahr-o-kashtī* (or Superintendent of rivers and royal boats) to look after river picnics and the passage of armies over the rivers, as the occasion demanded.[7]

---

1 For Mughal Comptroller of the royal kitchen, Beveridge, II, 5–11; a description of the duties of *Chāshnīgīr* in K.R., II, 63.

2 Compare *ibid.*, 82.

3 Compare Raverty, 745, for a mention of these three officials.

4 Compare A., 271-2, 338; B., 537; and Q.S., 145, for some other officials: the *'Itr-dār* (Perfume keeper), the *Chatr-dār* (Royal parasol keeper), the *Sham'dār* (Keeper of candles), and the *Pardadār* (Keeper of the royal canopy or royal curtain).

5 Compare Q., 67; Raverty, 757. For the emoluments of the *Shahna-i-pīl*, Notices, etc., 202.

6 Compare the account of T.S.S., 74.

7 Compare Raverty, 757. Radhakumad Mukerji has understood duties connected with this officer to indicate maritime activity in the early Muslim period. I have, however, failed to trace any special significance of this officer to connect him with maritime activity during the period. He helped the conveyance of royal troops over the rivers and supervised the bridges. Both functions were subordinate to the military operations on land, and can hardly be interpreted to imply any maritime significance. See 'A history of Indian Shipping and Maritime activity', p. 189. The original text of Baranī (B., 86–88) says nothing of a naval expedition against Tughral. It only mentions the crossing of the river in 'Bajaras'.

7. *Kārkhānas.*—The supplies of these officials and of their respective departments were provided by the royal stores or *kārkhānas*, a system which was also probably borrowed from Persia.[1] Besides the supplies for these and other officials, the *kārkhānas* maintained separate sections for the supply of royal standards (the '*alamkhāna*) and the care of the royal library (*kitābkhāna*) and the gong and chronometer (*ghariyāl-khāna*), the jewel house (*jawāhirkhāna*) and the royal pastures. The *kārkhānas* looked after the provisioning of the royal stables and the supervision of the royal buildings, for which they maintained a whole army of masons and architects. Finally they undertook to supply the menial attendance and the domestic service for the palaces and other royal buildings. The enumeration, however, is by no means complete. These *kārkhānas* were under the charge of a distinguished noble who was assisted by other subordinate superintendents (*mutasarrifs*), who were themselves nobles of rank and were appointed directly by the Sultān. All of them were paid very high salaries, and the charge of a store was considered quite as remunerative as the governorship of a big town like Multān.[2]

8. *Crown lands* (*or Milk*).—To maintain all these establishments, the resources of the Sultān were almost unlimited. Apart from the treasures of gold and silver, the Sultān was the biggest landholder in the kingdom ; in fact, the only one whose property had an undisputed legal basis. He could choose the most fertile tracts of land and employ the resources of the whole State to enhance their productive capacity. A separate staff of officers was employed to administer his private lands. We shall revert to this subject in another place.[3]

To form an opinion about the Sultān's private establishments and the nature of his occupations, let us see what the *Masālik-ul-absār* has to say about Muhammad Tughluq. 'At the cost of this prince', says the author, 'there are maintained 1,200 physicians; 10,000 falconers who ride on horseback and carry birds trained for hawking ; 300 beaters go in front and put up the game ; 3,000 dealers in articles required for hawking accompany him when he goes out hunting ; 500 table companions dine with him. He supports 1,200 musicians excluding his slave musicians to the number of 1,000 who are more especially charged with the teaching of music, and 1,000 poets of the three languages, Arabic, Persian and Indian (meaning

---

[1] Compare Huart, 96, for ancient Persia.

[2] A., 271-272, 338-339.

[3] Compare A., 130, for the anxiety of Fīrūz Tughluq in looking after his irrigation canals and the imposition of the new irrigation tax (*hāsil-i-shurb*). The Sultān also colonized some waste lands in the kingdom, the taxes and revenues of which also went to swell the royal coffers and were partly spent on charitable endowments. For the increased produce, section IV.

some Prakrit). A repast is served at which 20,000 men are present—Khāns, Maliks, Amīrs, Sipāhsālārs, and other officers. At his private meals, i.e. at dinner and supper, the Sultān receives learned lawyers to the number of 200, who share meals with him and converse with him upon learned topics'. According to one informant who based his account on the report of the royal cook, 2,500 oxen, 2,000 sheep, and other animals and birds were daily slaughtered for the supplies of the royal kitchen.[1]

B. The Sultān as a Public Person.

The dignity of a monarch has always been his first concern. The demands of royal dignity were immeasurably increased by its supposed divine origin and the new conception of the Sultanate. The monarch at Delhi scrupulously copied his Sassanian predecessors in Persia, whose love of luxury and ostentation was phenomenal.[2] It was all the more necessary in a foreign country where the State had no better sanction than the awe and fear it could inspire in the hearts of the people by the gorgeous display of its pomp and power and through the glorious surroundings of the Sultān. There are numerous examples on record, of the terror which the presence and appearance of a monarch inspired among his enemies. In fact, it was firmly believed that if the personality of a monarch did not succeed in inspiring people with awe and fear, he was better fitted to lead a Tūmān (10,000 troops) or at best to govern a minor province, than to rule over a kingdom.[3]

---

[1] Compare E.D., III, 578–580; and Notices, etc., which translates *Malik* as 'le roi'.

[2] Compare S., III, 499, for Occleve's advices on the 'dignitee of a kyng' in Perfect Prince: compare a description of Hormuzd IV by Theophylactus in Huart, 144–147: 'His tiara was of gold, adorned with precious stones. The carbuncles set in it gave off a dazzling brilliance, and the rows of pearls all round it mingled their shimmering light with the loveliness of the emeralds; so the eye was as it were petrified in wonder that could never have its fill'. Again, in the palace at Ctesiphon: 'The front adorned with notches, has no windows: there were a hundred and fifty openings in the roof, five or six inches in diameter, which allowed a mysterious light to filter in. The throne stood at the end of the hall and when the curtain was drawn back, the King splendidly clad, seated on his throne, wearing on his head the heavy bejewelled tiara, which was attached to a golden chain hanging from the ceiling to take the weight, presented such a marvellous spectacle that the man who saw it for the first time involuntarily fell on his knees'.

[3] Compare B., 35. Compare also *ibid.*, 33, for the public audience of Sultān Balban and how some of the envoys and Hindu vassals, who were conducted to the throne for the first time for presentation, trembled and fainted in the presence of the Sultān. The reports of these pageants had a salutary moral effect on the discontented elements in the kingdom. Compare also Ibn Batūta, K.R., II, 70, how a very large number of Afghān rebels fled away in terror and dismay when Muhammad Tughluq suddenly appeared on them with a small body of retainers. Compare

In view of these considerations, a number of prerogatives were reserved for the Sultān, namely, the royal titles, the *Khutba*, and the *Sikka*, and certain other symbols to distinguish him from all other people of the realm. He hardly ever appeared before the people except in court or when he gave audience to the public, or led an army or went out for the chase ; in every case, he was accompanied by a grand procession and surrounded with splendour and glory.

1. *The Titles.*—The royal title which signified the full and undisputed powers of the monarch was that of the *Sultān*. The Sayyids who established themselves after the invasion of Tīmūr, assumed the titles of *Rāyāt i-A'lā* and *Masnad-i-'Ālī*.[1] Sher Shāh assumed the title of *Hazrat-i-A'lā* as soon as the various clans of Afghāns in India submitted to his leadership; but when he felt himself powerful enough, he adopted the title of 'Sultān' to signify his assumption of full sovereign powers.[2] Apart from his royal title, the monarch adopted some other titles which indicated his religious leadership of the Muslim community, to which reference has been made earlier. When people conversed with him they used to address him as *Khudāvand-i-'Ālam* (Master of the World), and prefaced their remarks with a short prayer for his long life or for the security of his kingdom.[3]

2. *Khutba and Sikka.*—The overt acts of sovereignty, which announced the advent of a Sultān to the throne, included the recitation of the public surmon (*Khutba*) in the name of the aspirant to the throne, and the issue of money bearing his superscription, or what were commonly known as the ceremonies of *Khutba* and *Sikka* respectively.[4] Numismatic announcements were also made to commemorate an important victory. Both of them were exclusively reserved for the monarch. The minor dynasties which broke away from Delhi followed the same tradition.[5]

3. *Symbols of Royalty.*

(*a*) *Crown and Throne.*—The crown of the Sultāns of Delhi differed from that of the Persians and the Ghaznawids in as much

---

also Macauliffe, I, 20, for the view of Nānak. According to him a monarch was one who was guarded by lances, for whom bands played, who sat on a throne and was an object of salutation. Compare Arnold, 28, for the appearance of the executioner by the side of a Caliph, with the transfer of the seat of government from Madina to Baghdād.

[1] M.T., 285. [2] T.S.S., 34. [3] Compare K.R., II, 9.

[4] Compare E. Thomas, 1. Compare *ibid.*, 190, the amusing instance of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq issuing his coin with an obsolete reverse stamp for want of a suitable die for immediate use, which only indicates the supreme importance that was attached to the numismatic proclamation of a monarch. Compare *ibid.*, 73, for numismatic proclamation of a victory.

[5] Compare T.S.S., 3, for these 'masters of *Khutba* and *Sikka*'; compare also Vambery, 53.

as it was meant to be worn as a head-gear, and was not a mere decoration. It was studded with jewels, was round in shape but loose and bulging out above the forehead.[1] Prince Humāyūn made certain improvements in the form and design of the crown; he made models of his improved patterns and presented them to his father, the Mughal Emperor Bābur.[2] No details are, however, given.

The throne was made of wood and plated with gold. It was square in shape, resting on four feet.[3] The traditional Hindu throne was nine-storeyed in height but the idea does not appear to have found favour with the Sultāns. Instead of the additional storeys for enhancing the splendour of a throne, the Sultāns surrounded it with rich canopies, which will be referred to later.

(*b*) *Chatr and Dūrbāsh*.—Next in importance were the royal parasol (*Chatr*) and the royal baton (*Dūrbāsh*) which were also regarded as symbols of royal power.[4] The colour and design of the royal parasol suited the personal taste of a monarch.[5] Muhammad Tughluq followed the Abbasid example in using a black parasol. A large *humā*, 'the protector of Persian kings', was usually worked on a parasol in gold and shaded the monarch under its wings as an auspicious omen.[6]

Nobody except the Sultān could use the *Chatr* as a matter of right unless so delegated or authorized by the reigning sovereign. Such distinguished favours were limited to very few persons, who were usually of royal blood and in most cases, heirs-apparent to the throne.[7] Even in such cases where more

---

[1] Q.S., 142. [2] Compare **A.N.I.**, 260-1.

[3] Compare Q.S., 143; compare Hindu throne, P. (hin), 623.

[4] For example, Raverty, 607.

[5] Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī used red parasols for public audiences, but put away this 'symbol of wrath' on other occasions, when he preferred to use white parasols (*vide* D.R., 67; K.K., 883: T.F.I., 154). Earlier, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād used parasols of different colours on different occasions—black, red, white, green, and pink. His parasol was also fringed with pearls (*vide* Q.S., 20, 57).

I may note in this connection that Raverty's rendering of the term *chatr* as 'canopy' is incorrect. The original term 'chatr' occurs in many places, among others in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, (MS.), 178, and can hardly be rendered otherwise than as 'parasol'. The term 'canopy' is more appropriate for *Sāyabān*. 'The parasol', as Rawlinson remarks, 'which has always been in the east a mark of dignity, seems in Persia, as in Assyria, to have been confined either by law or usage to the King (Five, etc. etc., III, 206). Compare also Temple's note on p. 210 in 'Lalla' on the use of 'Chowrie and Umbrella' among Hindus. Compare also A.M., 76*b*.

[6] Compare K.F., 29; Q., 99; Q.S., 57: B.M. MS., 1858, 102, for *humā*. For the description of a *humā*, Huart, 8, 'The *Humā* is a species of the Persian vulture (*gypo fulvus*) known as the bearded vulture or lammergeyer'.

[7] Compare B., 428, for Balban's appointing prince Muhammad heir to the throne and permitting him the use of *Chatr* and *Dūrbāsh*. Bughrā Khān succeeds to this privilege of his elder brother on the death of the

than one parasol was used by royal permission, a distinction was maintained between the parasol of the monarch and that of others, so that the possibility of confusion between the two parasols was removed.[1]

The Indian *dūrbāsh*, like its Persian predecessor, was a wooden staff branching at the top and plated with gold.[2] It was used to keep common people at a distance from the monarch. The Hindu symbol was the *Morchal* (or Chaurī) which was used to keep away the flies from the royal person. It appears that the *dūrbāsh* in Hindūstān was modified to serve the purpose of the Hindu *morchal* also.[3]

(c) *Sāyabān, Naubat, and 'Alam.*—The use of a red canopy of state (or *sāyabān*), of the triple band (*naubat*), and the royal standards (*'alams*) was similarly the privilege of a monarch. Nobody could use them unless specially permitted by the Sultān as a conspicuous favour.[4] This indulgence, too, was withdrawn at a later date when the Afghān nobles began to misuse the favours of the Sūr Sultāns. Salīm Shāh, for instance, made an explicit rule that the red canopy was not to be used by any noble under any circumstances.[5]

Similarly *naubat* (or the royal band) was an old Persian and Hindu tradition. The royal band was composed of a

latter. But when his own son Kaiqubād succeeds to the throne of Delhi, the father has to make a petition for the retention of the privilege of using the 'white parasol' which, as he admitted, belonged to his son 'in his capacity as the Sultān of Delhi'. Kaiqubād acceded to the request of Bughrā Khān which gave him peculiar satisfaction (*vide* Q.S., 146; B. 92). Compare K.F., 33, for the permission given to the Rājā of Chitor to retain the use of the 'blue parasol' as a vassal of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. Compare also (*ibid.*) the gift of many royal symbols—parasol, *dūrbāsh*, elephants, and *'alams* or royal standards to Khizr Khān, the eldest son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, by his father on his appointment as the Viceroy of the Sultān of Delhi in Rājputāna. But when the same Prince was in disgrace at a later date through the machinations of Malik Kāfūr, these distinctions were snatched away from him without ceremony (*vide* D.R., 240).

1 Compare the remark of 'Afif, A., 108.

2 The *dūrbāsh*, according to Raverty, was a kind of spear with two horns and branches, the wooden staff of which used to be studded with jewels and ornamented with gold and silver. This used to be carried before the sovereign when he issued forth, in order that people perceiving it from a distance might know that the king was coming and that they might make way for him by standing on one side (Raverty, note, p. 607).

3 Compare Khusrau who describes the '*dūrbāsh*' as a fly-eating monster (*vide* Q.S., 60).

4 Compare, for instance, the permission to use a red canopy given by Sultān Iltutmish to Malik Nāsir-ud-dīn on the latter's appointment to the governorship of Bengal (*vide* Raverty, 630), the permission given to Malik Kāfūr to use the red canopy in the Deccan as the representative of the Sultān of Delhi (*vide* B., 334) and a similar permission to Prince Fath Khān by Sultān Fīrūz Shah Tughluq as his representative in Delhi during the latter's absence in Bengal (*vide* T.M.S., 404).

5 Compare Elliot, 404.

variety of instruments—trumpets, drums, flageolets, fifes, etc., and was played at stated times in the palace.[1] In exceptional cases the Sultān allowed others the use of kettle-drums, provided their use was limited only to occasions when the distinguished person so favoured was travelling in the country. He could not use them in town.[2]

The *'alams* or royal standards were carried with the royal procession on both sides of the monarch. They bore the emblem of 'fish and crescent'.[3] Apart from standards, certain other *nishāns* or royal emblems were also carried with the royal procession.[4]

(*d*) *Elephants and hoards of Bullion.*—The far-sightedness and wisdom of the Sultāns is shown in making the possession of elephants and of hoards of gold and silver illegal unless they themselves allowed somebody their limited use, as a special favour. The elephants were most useful instruments in war and though the Muslims had shown their comparative ineffectiveness against well-trained horses, the elephants were by no means to be despised in warfare. No words are needed to explain the omnipotent power of gold and silver (which Baranī aptly describes as *qāzī-ul-hājāt*, *vide* F.J., *78*). Once a person secured the necessary number of elephants and the suitable quantity of gold, it did not take him very long to employ skilful soldiers, and to persuade the common people to accept him as their monarch, thus eventually superseding the reigning Sultān.[5] Elephants and gold were usually reserved for the sovereign among the Hindus as well as among the Muslims. It was only at a much later date that the gift of elephants became popular with the Sultāns of Delhi.[6] The neighbourhood of Kālpī and

---

[1] Compare the Persian tradition in Huart, 145-6; compare P. (hin), 196, for the Hindu tradition, which mentions a constant playing of the band at the palace. The Rājputs were specially fond of musical instruments being played when they were dining. The musical instruments mentioned are *naqqāra*, *shahnāi*, *karnāī*, *turaī*, and *jhānj* (*vide* P., Urdu edition, 421).

[2] Compare K.R., I, 107, for the amusing instance of the Naqīb of Baghdād, who visited India and ignorant of this tradition, had his drums beaten in Delhi which annoyed Muhammad Tughluq a great deal.

[3] Compare Q.S., 63, for this emblem. Minhāj Sirāj mentions the gift of 'the morning fish' (*Māhī-i-Subhī*) from the Sultān to the author (*vide* Raverty, 1294). The author of the *Masālik-ul-absār* was informed that the royal emblem was 'a golden dragon' (*vide* Notices, 188). I adhere to the version of Amīr Khusrau in holding to the opinion that it was the emblem of the fish and the crescent.

[4] For *nishāns*, compare the giant kettle-drums of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq which were carried on both sides of the royal procession and were visible from a distance (*vide* A., 369-70). For the *nishāns* of his predecessor Muhammad Tughluq, compare K.R., II, 82.

[5] Compare the remarks of Baranī, B., 83.

[6] Compare, *ibid.*, 92, how Balban after the suppression of the rebellion of Tughral in Bengal makes a gift of the whole of the rebel's property to his son (who succeeds him as the Governor of Bengal) except the elephants

the province of Orissa were the favourite haunts of the wild elephants, and a number of villages near Mānikpur (U.P.) followed the profession of catching and presenting them to the royal stables.[1] The elephants were usually brought before the monarch every day to offer their salutations with ceremony.[2]

The tradition of hoarding treasure was very old in India. Every Hindu ruler scrupulously preserved what his predecessor had bequeathed to him, accumulated treasures of his own during his reign, and left this added wealth to his successor, which grew into fabulous quantities and was usually expropriated by a foreign invader.[3] These royal treasures and the hoards in the temples provided an irresistible temptation to the greedy and strong Muslim invader from the North-west. The tradition remained unaltered during the Muslim period and curiously enough was also scrupulously observed by the Muslim Sultāns.[4] The reasons for hoarding gold were clear. The gold bullion was handy to convey anywhere in times of insecurity and danger, and useful in periods of famine or other national calamities. With the help of treasure a monarch could not only maintain his rule over people, but could also rescue himself and them from difficulties and disasters.[5] The only unfortunate monarch who showed indulgence in matters of hoarding treasures for himself and in prohibiting hoarding on the part of others, and permitted his nephew to appropriate part of the Deccan treasures, lost his life and throne by neglecting this commonsense rule of practice and hallowed royal tradition of ancient date.

THE COURT.

1. *The Court* (or *Bār*).—The custom of holding courts (or what is now popularly termed *darbār*) is very ancient among the

---

and the treasure of gold. Compare D.R., 54, for the fact that before Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī no person of the rank of an *amīr* had kept an elephant. The exceptional case of Malik Ikhtyār-ud-dīn, the deputy of Bahrām Shāh, who stationed an elephant at the entrance of his residence (*vide* Raverty, 650), does not come within the prohibition, and was further resented by other nobles. Fīrūz Tughluq made a special gift of six elephants to his brother, the Nāib Bārbak, who was so delighted with the honour that whenever he called for a royal audience the animals used to come in front of him in a procession (*vide* A., 429). For the Hindu custom, compare T.F., I, 107 ; J.H., 340. The white elephant was a rare possession. Compare Barbosa, II, 115, for parallel.

[1] Compare Bābur's observations, B.N., 250.

[2] Compare Barbosa, 109.

[3] For the Hindu custom of hoarding treasures, compare Yule, II, 339-40 ; Varthema, 156.

[4] For the Muslim hoards, read the interesting account of Bengal treasure in B.N., 247 ; of Chāmpanīr treasure in T.W., 7 ; of Agra treasures of Lodīs in G., 12.

[5] Compare B., 147, for the advice of Bughrā Khān to Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād warning him against an evil hour and asking him not to forget the hoarding of gold.

royal traditions of Persia and came to be established in Hindūstān within the first thirty years of Muslim rule.[1] The Sultāns of Delhi held the *Bār* on a number of public occasions, namely, to welcome an envoy or a distinguished guest, to announce the coronation of a monarch or to commemorate the event every year, to celebrate the birthday of the Sultān, to accept the *nazrs* and *nisārs* (to be explained shortly) from his subjects and on a number of other social and religious festivals. This is by no means a complete list, for extraordinary convocations were also held to celebrate all kinds of events, for instance, a victory, the marriage of a member of the royal family or the birth of a prince or princess. When a foreign envoy was welcomed in open court, no measures were neglected in impressing the visitor with the glory and magnificence of the State. The Sultān or his chief minister personally supervised the details of the reception. The monarch or one of his sons, or at least a distinguished noble, personally conducted the visitor to the court where he was received with much pomp and ceremony.[2] The coronation *durbārs* were more solemn than formal. Sometimes before the public ceremony of crowning, *bai'at* (or the oath of allegiance) for a new Sultān was taken from the judicial functionaries (*Sadrs*), the nobles, the theologians and the Sayyids, in a private gathering without much ceremony. Everyone quietly approached the Sultān (who was seated on the throne), kissed his hand, congratulated him on his accession, and offered his homage. A public audience for the public and general oath (*Bai'at-i-'ām*) was then held somewhat later with full ceremonies and display. Suitable gifts for charity were distributed to mark the occasion, prisoners were released, and a general spirit of happiness, gaiety, and cheerfulness prevailed in the country. Every year afterwards, a *darbār* was held to commemorate the day of coronation. Before or after the *darbār* the royal procession with caparisoned horses and elephants, with guards and retainers in rich and glittering costumes, and the nobles and officials in full and gaudy splendour, passed through the capital. In the *darbār* the oath of allegiance was renewed, *nazrs* (or *khidmatīs*) were offered to the Sultān who gave suitable gifts in return, and the usual lavish sums were given away for charities.[3] Other *darbārs* to celebrate certain social and religious festivals were more magnificent than formal or solemn. These are characteristically termed the *Jashn darbārs* for their greater gaiety, and will be described elsewhere.[4] The *Nau-rūz*, or the Persian spring festival, in particular, was

---

[1] Compare B., 54.

[2] Compare, for instance, the visit of the envoy of Hulāgū to the court of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd; compare Vambery, 47, for the reception of Sīdī 'Alī Reis by Humāyūn in court; also A.N., I, 325.

[3] Compare, for instance, Raverty, 675, for a description.

[4] A., 278.

celebrated with great enthusiasm. The religious occasions were marked more for a display of the pomp and grandeur of the State than for any religious or spiritual observances. For instance, on *'Īd* days a big procession of elephants, all draped in gorgeous silks and glittering ornaments, was formed to convey the Sultān and the religious and judicial functionaries, distinguished foreign visitors and the nobles to the *'Īd* mosque for prayers. A State banquet was held in the evening and all kinds of amusements and rejoicings were provided. When the usual *darbār* with the familiar features of *nazr* and *bai'at* was held, the court-poets were conspicuous for reciting especially composed eulogies.[1] More will be said about these festivals in speaking of amusements later.

2. *The Court Etiquette.*—All these court celebrations and other official ceremonies were observed with special regard for forms and rules of behaviour. The rank and position of everyone, their dress and appearance, the various rules of behaviour and the ceremonies of presentation to the monarch were duly observed in all their elaborate details. As a rule, the nobles and the grandees attended in person; but if anyone absented himself for some unavoidable reason, his place was taken by a *vakīl* or representative.[2] Special rows were assigned to the nobles according to their rank, and seats were provided even for their retainers in court. A special court dress was prescribed for all those who attended the *darbār*. The Sultān wore his royal robes and the nobles the *khil'at* or the dress of honour, which comprised a tunic of brocade, a tartar cap, a white belt and a waistband of gold. Those of the nobles who were not favoured with a robe of honour put on a fur coat and a fur cap; the tunic and cloak of everyday wear were to be avoided in every case, and their use was looked upon as a grave impropriety.[3] The court officials who will be described shortly functioned in their official costumes together with other emblems of office. The Wazīr or some other responsible official personally supervised the observance of all these regulations. A special steward (called the *Shahna-i-bār*) was appointed to see that the provisions of behaviour and forms of presentation were scrupulously observed. As a result, the spectacle of the open court looked like 'the assemblage of the luminaries in a clear moon-lit night'.[4]

---

1 Compare K.R., II. 36–8; Q.S., 57; B. 43, for a description of the royal observance of *'Īds*; compare K.K., 244, for a famous eulogy of Amīr Khusrau composed for the occasion.

2 T.M.S., 9.

3 Compare the observations of 'Afīf, A., 279.

4 Compare, for instance, the reception of the envoy of Hulāgū under Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd when in the figurative language of the chronicler the Sultān looked as 'a sun from the fourth heaven', Ulugh Khān Balban as 'a shining moon', the *maliks* 'like unto revolving planets' and the Turkish pages of the Sultān 'like unto stars innumerable'—Raverty, 858.

Before the ceremonies of presentation commenced, the nobles, officials, and other persons who assisted the Sultān stood in rows on two sides in front of the Sultān, with their hands folded on their breasts.[1] The main ceremony of presentation comprised what were termed the *kornish* and the *Taslīm* under the Mughals. They can better be described than defined. The person to be presented to the monarch was introduced to the hall of audience by an official called the *Bārbak*, who led him to a spot at some distance in front of the monarch. Here he first bowed his forehead to the ground and then advanced towards the throne, making low obeisance three times at intervals, guided in choosing the moment for obeisance by the solemn cries of the Naqīb and his pursuivants, which will be described later. This is what was called the *shart-i-zamīn-bos* or 'the ground-kissing ceremony'.[2] If the person presented was especially privileged to approach the royal person (which was very exceptional, the privilege being confined to those above the rank of a *Sipahsālār*), he was thoroughly searched before his entry into the hall of audience.[3] Approaching the monarch, he prostrated himself at the royal feet; the visitor then remained standing with bowed head irrespective of rank and position, and addressed the Sultān in especially chosen language indicative of his extreme humility and deep devotion. There he presented his *nazr*. If he was of exceptional distinction, the Sultān perhaps condescended to take him by the hand, or even embraced him and touched his offerings with his royal fingers, which greatly eased his agitated mind.[4] This was about the most intimate public experience anyone could have of the great Sultāns of Delhi. By rules of public behaviour, the Sultān remained hidden and inaccessible even to the highest dignitaries of the court.[5] In some cases the position was very embarrassing and annoying to both parties, and two instances are of historical interest. When Bughrā Khān was presented to his own son, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād, the reigning monarch of Delhi and was engaged in duly carrying out all the State ceremonies

---

[1] Compare T.S.S., 47; A.N., I, 150.

[2] Compare how Jām Saif-ud-dīn had to take lessons before presentation to Fīrūz Tughluq. A., 248; compare A.A., I, 156, for Mughal precedent.

[3] Compare K.R., I, 213, for the presentation of Ibn Batūta to the Emperor of Constantinople; compare Notices, etc., 182.

[4] Compare K.R., II, 35.

[5] Compare the proud remark of Sultān Balban that he never addressed a person of low birth on terms of familiarity all his life as a king. His own slaves and attendants had never seen him except in full dress—B., 33; compare also his advice to his son Muhammad, *ibid.*, 75; compare *ibid.*, 142 for the remarks of Bughrā Khān in defence of the royal dignity of his own son and the etiquette of the court. Compare Raverty, 805, for an amusing story of the tutor of a prince who subjected his royal pupil to the same undignified and uncomfortable exercises as other people had to undergo when they were presented to a monarch.

of presentation, so humiliating to the feelings of a father, the reserve of the Sultān finally gave way and he forcibly lifted his father and seated him on the throne beside him. Similarly, when once Kāmrān Mīrzā, the rebel brother of Humāyūn, was presented to the Mughal Emperor after his surrender and carried out all the provisions of court etiquette, the patience and reserve of Humāyūn broke down. He asked Kāmrān to embrace him a second time 'as a brother' when he broke into tears of joy and fraternal love.[1] The provincial dynasties adopted similar court etiquette in their kingdoms.[2] Though no detailed account is available of the Hindu courts, it may be safely assumed that the dignity of the royal person was as strictly guarded there as under the Sultanat, and probably the rules of behaviour of the court were elaborated on similar lines.[3] The Mughal Emperor Akbar did not alter or improve upon the existing code of court ceremonials to any considerable degree.[4]

It may be noted in passing that the whole atmosphere of the Court of the Sulṭān was highly artificial, and reveals any but a virile and healthy environment. In some cases the dignity and the majesty that 'doth hedge a crown' was carried to extremely ridiculous lengths. The instance of a Sulṭān has been noted who signed away the land of Isfahān to a visiting merchant, and the courtiers had not the courage to tell him that the town of Isfahān was not in his dominions or even in that of the Sultān of Delhi. Another amusing instance comes from Mughal history. When Humāyūn agreed to negotiate with Sher Shāh on the eve of the battle of Chausa, he was fully cognisant of the power and stronger position of the Afghān rebel. He therefore agreed to grant him Bengal as his *Jāgīr*, provided he retired from his strategic position and further agreed to be pursued by the royal army, thus giving to his (Sher Shāh's) feigned retreat an appearance of defeat.[5] Sher Shāh broke the whole farce by chasing the Mughal Emperor out of Hindūstān and as Humāyūn remonstrated later, exposed his extremely mean and greedy nature by refusing to agree even to the possession of the Punjāb under the dominion of the latter.

Nazr and Nisār Ceremonies.—Reference may be made in this connection to two ceremonies which usually occur in any

---

[1] A.N., I, 281.

[2] Compare the statement of Bābur in B., 334, that the envoy who came to his court from Bengal performed the ceremonies of presentation according to the accepted code of behaviour of a court.

[3] Compare P. (hin), 241, for the instructive story of a dancing girl who was killed on the spot for no greater crime than turning her back by chance on the Rājā while performing a dance for his entertainment.

[4] Compare A.A., I, 155-156.

[5] Compare the account of T.S.S., 44: compare Gulbadan for her version.

description of a darbar and in several other official functions. The *nazr* (also termed *khidmatī*) was a symbolic present of any value offered to a sovereign with appropriate forms, to signify the allegiance and loyalty of the person offering it. All persons who were presented to the Sultān for the first time gave him a *nazr* or an offering, and continued to do the same on other prescribed occasions as long as they were employed by or were directly connected with him. The value of the offering which ranged from the present of a cocoanut to that of precious jewels, was not material to the offer.[1] The Sultān usually responded with a gift of greater value though no return was necessary on his part. This tradition of *nazrs* and return gifts became so well established by the time of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq that people began to trade on it and made profit out of the transaction. They used to advance large sums of money to persons who were about to be presented to the monarch wherewith to buy articles of *nazr*, and then shared in the profits which accrued from the return gift of the Sultān.[2]

The *nisār* was a ceremony of somewhat different import, having probably originated in the superstition of 'the evil eye', and resembling the Hindu custom of *utārā* and the ceremony of *Artī* to-day. It consisted in taking platefuls of gold and silver coins or other precious jewels, and scattering them to the crowd of indigent and poor or to any other assemblage, after being passed over the head of the monarch a number of times. Several occasions, for instance, those of the convocation of a darbar, the entry of the Sultān into the capital after a victory, the peaceful and successful conclusion of delicate negotiations, and other unusual moments were carefully watched and the evil influence of the sinister spirits was evaded through many devices, among others, through offering *nisār* for the person of the monarch. Similarly *nisārs* were offered as a precautionary measure on several occasions of happiness and gaiety, for instance, when the monarch recovered from an indisposition or illness, or a son was born to him, or a prince or princess was married. If a Sultān honoured the house of a noble with his visit, the latter usually offered a *nisār* presumably to keep away the evil spirits. *Nisārs* were similarly offered to sweethearts (not excluding males) to preserve their charms and attainments.[3]

3. *The Court Officials.* A separate staff was maintained to assist the monarch in the discharge of his ceremonial and public functions. Among these officials the *Bārbak*, the *Hājib*

---

[1] Compare, for instance Macauliffe I, 146 for the Hindu offering of a cocoanut: compare T.F., I. 381 for the offer of the famous *kūh-i-nūr* to Humāyūn by the family of Rājā Vikramājīt of Gwalior.

[2] Compare K.R., II.

[3] Compare the account of Baranī. B., 161 when Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād makes a *nisār* to a boy sweetheart.

and the *Vakīl-i-dar* figure very prominently. All of them had one or more deputies or *nāibs* who were also nobles of rank and distinction.

The *Bārbak* is picturesquely described as 'the tongue of the Sultāns'. His duty was to convey the petitions of the people before the royal throne when the Sultān sat there to consider them.[1] The symbol of his office was a golden *chaugān* (polo-stick) attached to a ball of gold.[2] Many historical figures[3] occupied the office of the *Bārbak*.

The *Hājib* occupied a ceremonial office and supervised the ceremonies of court presentation. He was the successor of the 'Khurram-bāsh' of ancient Persia,[4] and is variously mentioned as *Malik-ul-Hujjāb*, *Sayyid-ul-Hujjāb*, *Malik Khās Hājib* or simply *Hājib*.[5] As a rule the Sultāns of the Muslim kingdoms outside India maintained two separate *Hājibs* for the presentation of nobles and common people respectively. There appear to be similarly two separate *Hājibs* at the court of the Sultān of Delhi but their functions are nowhere clearly defined. Probably when the Sultān sat to decide judicial disputes or to review the troops or to receive a visitor, one of them stood near the Sultān and held the curtain, while the other presented the visitor or assisted in the performance of royal duties in some other way.[6]

The *Vakīl-i-dar*, variously designated as *Rasūl-i-dar* and *Hājib-ul-Irsāl*, was appointed to perform the secretarial functions of the court.[7] Probably his closer insight into State papers and therefore into matters of State policy gave him a special importance, which is confirmed by the estimate of the historian Baranī and the influence of Raihān, the *Vakīl-i-dar* of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd.

A few other officials also assisted the convocation of a darbār. The *Shahna-i-bārgāh* took over the general superin-

---

1 For the functions of a *Bārbak* I.K., I, 125; B. 578.

2 For the symbol of the office of a *Bārbak* B. 113; Q.S. 41.

3 Compare the employment of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq in his youth as a *Nāib Bārbak* and a *Nāib Amīr Hājib*. He was given the command of 12,000 troops on his appointment to the post which shows that these offices had a corresponding military rank (*vide* A. 42). Malik Kāfūr was a *Bārbak* when he was appointed to lead the invasions of the Deccan. Similarly, Muhammad Tughluq occupied the office of *Bārbak* for some time before the Tughluqs came to power.

4 Compare Huart 145: 'Between the sovereign and his household there hung a curtain, concealing him from view; this curtain was ten cubits away from the king and ten cubits away from the position occupied by the highest class in the state. The keeping of this curtain was entrusted to a knight's son, who had the title of Khurram-bāsh 'Be joyful', etc. etc.

5 Compare Raverty, 820; B. 527 for titles.

6 Compare the opinion of Sprenger on p. 9. Compare also I.K., I, 154; 125-6.

7 Compare the opinion of Baranī B. 576. For Raihān see Raverty 827.

tendence of the court.[1] The *Davāt-dār* was responsible for the royal writing case and the *Muhr-dār* for the royal seal.[2] A corps of pages (*ghilmān*) handsome and gracefully dressed, moved about in the hall to assist the officials in minor matters.[3] The *Naqīb* and his host of pursuivants (*chāūsh*) conducted the visitor to the hall of audience and led the royal procession, the *Naqīb* carrying the royal mace. During the presentation ceremony they solemnly cried '*Bism-illāh*' at intervals,[4]—as noticed earlier.

To give a general idea of the royal court: The hall of audience was situated in the centre of the palace with a number of gates leading to its entrance, all of which were heavily guarded. On arrival for business or presentation, a visitor was announced with a flourish of trumpets at the first gate. On proceeding to the second gate, he was received by the *Naqīb* wearing a jewelled tiara and carrying a mace, and by his staff of *chāūsh* holding gold and silver crested canes. They led him to the third gate where his name and other particulars were taken down by the scribes. Here the visitor had to wait until the hour of presentation arrived. Inside the hall of audience (named by Muhammad Tughluq 'the hall of a thousand pillars') sat the Sultān on the throne with his legs crossed in oriental fashion. In front of the monarch sat the Wazīr with his staff of secretaries and clerks. The *Hājib*, the *Bārbak* and the *Vakīl-i-dar* all occupied their positions. To the right and left of the Sultān sat the religious functionaries, the nobles, members of the royal family, and other distinguished persons. After permission for the presentation was accorded, the visitor was introduced to the hall by the *Hājib* and was conducted to the place of obeisance. There he underwent the formalities of presentation mentioned earlier, or perhaps if he came on business of State, he handed over his petition to the *Bārbak* who took it to the throne. After the Sultān retired from the hall of audience, the *Hājib* went and handed over the papers to the *Vakīl-i-dar* who disposed of them according to the Sultān's commands.[5]

---

[1] B., 260-261 and note the fact that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq who later succeeded to the throne, occupied this office under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.

[2] Compare Raverty, 736; also B., 379-380.

[3] B., 30.

[4] Compare K.K., 132; B., 158. The use of the Qur'ānic formula has no particular religious significance in this case though on the presentation of a non-Muslim the Naqīb cried *Hadāka-Allāh* (May Allāh guide thee to the path of Islām). Its use was purely ceremonial. It was further useful in guiding the visitor in various formalities of presentation.

[5] Compare for greater details the account of Ibn Batūta in K.R., II, 33-35; also Baranī, B., 29-31; Notices, etc. 206, where however the rendering of the official titles is misleading.

The Privileged and other Social Classes.

General remarks :—The composition of various social classes was more or less simple. The Sultān, considering that he was the leader of the people and 'the main guarantee of peace in this world of strife and chaos' was at the head of society ; the nobles and other privileged classes were in some form of subordinate alliance with him ; the masses of people (which term includes the various classes of Hindus and the lower classes of Muslims) were below them and divided from them by an almost impassable barrier in ordinary circumstances.[1] Just at the commencement of the Muslim rule, there was an almost indiscriminate commingling of the upper Muslim classes, which were mainly composed of the *'Ulamā* and the religious class in general, the *Ahl-i-qalam* (what might be termed the intelligentsia), and the *Ahl-i-tīgh* or soldiers. All of them served in various degrees in the great task of establishing Muslim rule in Hindūstān, and were rewarded

---

Note on the official titles.—

I shall attempt to give approximate equivalents from among the functionaries of the English court to convey the idea of the functions of various officials referred to in this chapter.

1.	*Amīr-i-ākhur* ..	Master of the Horse.
2.	*Shahna-i-ākhur* ..	Chief Equerry.
3.	*Hājib*	'Chief Usher', 'Gentlemen Ushers' and other Ushers of the Hall and Chamber.
4.	*Bārbak*	Master of the Rolls.
5.	*Ghilmān*	Pages of Honour.
6.	*Naqib and Chāūsh* ..	Earl Marshall with Heralds and Pursuivants.
7.	*Sar-Jāndār* ..	Chief of the Life Guards.
8.	*Muhr-dār*	Lord Privy Seal.
9.	*Tahvīldār* ..	Keeper of the Privy Purse.
10.	*Hākima-i-haram* ..	Mistress of the Robes.
11.	*Shahna-i-bārgah* ..	Knight Marshall.
12.	*Nadīm*	Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.
13.	*Sar-i-Jāmadār* ..	Lord Chamberlain (Book of the Court, 236-7).
14.	*Vakīl-i-dar* ..	Lord Chamberlain of the Household. (Book of the Court, 318.)

I have borrowed these terms from 'The Book of the Court' but it is always desirable to bear in mind the warning of Raverty (p. 868) that the precise significance of these titles must remain in abeyance until some good dictionary of old Turkish is forthcoming.

[1] Compare A., 68 for the Sultān as leader of people ; J.H., 2 for his function of restoring peace and order. For the position of the masses of people, compare the Persian parallel from Mas'ūdī quoted by Sykes I, 465 :—'There were three great divisions at court. The knights and princes stood thirty feet from the curtain on the right of the throne. A similar distance farther back were marshalled the Governors and tributary kings who resided at court; and finally, the buffoons, singers and musicians formed a third division' .... When the king gave permission for a subject to approach he tied a handkerchief over his mouth to prevent his breath polluting the 'Sacred Presence', and passing behind the curtain fell prostrate until bidden to rise.

accordingly by the monarch.[1] With the growing organization of the State and Muslim society, however, a certain amount of specialization began in the assignment of the functions of various classes of Muslims. They may be theoretically divided into what Humāyūn calls the *Ahl-i-daulat* or the proper ruling class, which comprised the members of the royal family, the nobility and the army; the *Ahl-i-sa'ādat* or the intelligentsia which comprised the theologians (the *'ulamā*) the judicial functionaries (the Qāzīs), the Sayyids, the leaders of religious thought and men of reputed piety and religious devotion, men of learning especially poets and writers; the *Ahl-i-murād* or the class catering for pleasures, which was composed of musicians and minstrels, of beautiful girls and others who contributed to the success of pleasure parties. The last class of people, curious as it appears to class them with the other two, was of equal importance, considering that every one was fond of 'smooth faces and of ravishing sweethearts'. If we follow a more detailed classification of these groups made by Humāyūn, we come to the enumeration of a dozen minor groups, which compare more or less favourably with the existing social divisions of the upper classes of Muslim society. The following is the order of their status: the Sultān, the royal family, the *Khāns* and others of noble rank, the Sayyids, the 'Ulamā, the aristocrats in general, the assignment-holders (under Mughals, the Mansabdārs), the great functionaries of State, the leaders of the various clans, the corps of the royal pages, the keepers of the royal purse, the members of the royal guard (Jirga ?), the household attendants of the Sultān, and his menial and domestic servants. They were further divided according to their grades into upper, middle, and lower classes. This classification overlaps in many places and is obviously unscientific, but it gives a general view of the ruling classes of Hindūstān during the period under review.[2] The minor Muslim dynasties, which were formed later, and the Hindu States followed these lines of social development in general, the composition of a class differing in different places. The masses of the people had no place in the Government,[3] no share in political power. They had very few rights, if any. Their duty principally consisted in paying heavy taxes to the States, which were usually realized through the headman of a village and a staff of revenue officers, all of whom oppressed them, and managed to keep a share of the realized sum for themselves, thus becoming very wealthy.[4] Under such circumstances it is difficult to say that the Sultanat

---

[1] Compare F.J., 49 : T.M., 89, 128.

[2] Compare Khvāndmīr, K., 130–133.

[3] For the position of the masses of people in Hindūstān compare T.M. (IV), 203 : among others remarks of Khusrau in *Matla'-ul-anwār*.

[4] Compare the remarks of Khusrau KK., 733.

was supported by the people. All that can be said is that the people gave a feeble moral support to these social arrangements, but even this assertion is by no means conclusive.[1] This was the general position of the various classes of society.

(A) The Muslim Society.

Let us examine the position of the privileged classes in their two broad divisions—the *Umarā* or the nobility and the '*Ulamā* or theologians together with other religious classes.[2]

I. The Nobility.

1. *Its character.*—Immediately below the monarch came his nobles. They usually supported him in power, but at times usurped his functions, and if a ruling dynasty grew weak and effete they stepped into its shoes, and founded a new ruling dynasty of their own. Even if a noble was deposed or otherwise robbed of his position and power, the traditions of former dignity and social honour were unfailingly handed on to his descendants; and with the approbation of the people, who tenaciously adhered to the hereditary principle, restoration to former power was only a question of time and opportunity.

A noble usually began his life as a slave or a retainer of the Sultān or of another noble, and proceeded on a graduated scale of promotion until a suitable opportunity brought to him the dignities of an office, and the rank of an *Amīr*. Henceforth he was treated as a noble and his social position, as well as that of his descendants, was secure for ever afterwards. There was no valid rule of succession to the throne or any peculiar dignity which is associated with an ancient ruling house; there was not even a law of primogeniture, a fact which made the occupant of the throne very suspicious of the growing influence and power of a noble and his assumption of an independent attitude. A noble had no other choice except that of living as all other subjects of the Sultān or as a rebel. Thus in comparison with the privileges of their western compeers, or nearer at home those of Rājput chiefs, the privileges of the nobles of Delhi fell short in one important respect, namely, that the State did not encourage their independence or even allow their titles and emoluments to descend to their children. Their dignities could be snatched away from them during their lifetime, and were always at the mercy of the reigning Sultān. This did not,

---

[1] Compare an instance of people supporting the local dynasty from Sind, E.D., I, 233; compare B., 575 for a discussion.

[2] It should not be forgotten in speaking of the '*Ulamā* that there is no room for ordained priesthood in Islām but the theologians have always managed to exist and to shape the religious outlook of the Muslims. So that we are justified in treating them as a separate class.

however, affect the social importance[1] of a noble or of his descendants.

2. *The Titles and Distinctions.*—The highest among the nobles bore the title of *Khān* which signified the uppermost grade of nobility.[2] As a special distinction some of them were given the title of *Ulugh Khān-i-a'zam.*[3] Next in rank came the title of *Malik*, and lastly that of *Amīr*. There was no lower rank of peers in the court of the Sultāns of Delhi. Below them came the military ranks of *Sipah-sālār* and *Sar-khel* based probably on a decimal system, if we are to follow the opinion of Hāji Dabīr.[4] In a generic sense the term 'Amīr' may be applied to all the civil and military office-holders of the State, and should not be confused with the rank and title of the same name.[5] Similarly the term 'Sipah-sālār' was sometimes indiscriminately used to denote a military officer irrespective of his rank and position. The official status of a noble was determined in relation to what were called the *Shughl*, the *Khitāb* and the *Aqtā'* or their sinecures, their titles of honour, and the assignments of revenue respectively. There was no fixed rule for the award of offices at court or the distribution of titles of honour. All of them, however, had large revenue assignments to maintain them and their huge establishments.

(*a*) *Shughl and Khitāb.*—As regards the *Shughl* or the offices at court, it was not possible to provide sinecures except for a few of the nobles. Other big offices in the gift of the monarch were not many. They included, as we have noticed, those of the royal household and the *kārkhānas*, a few ministries and secretarial offices, governorships of certain districts and provinces and other civil and military offices, with titles of honour.[6] In the case of titles, though their range was as wide as the fancy and ingenuity of a monarch, discretion compelled the choice of a few to maintain their conspicuous dignity. Some of the

---

[1] This rule, however, does not hold good when the Sultanate declined in power and the nobles succeeded in forming independent ruling dynasties after Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq.

[2] K.R., I, 107; compare Rawlinson, Five great Monarchies III, 223 for the Persian parallel:—'Of right the position at the Persian Court immediately below that of the king belonged to the members of certain privileged families. Besides the royal family itself—or clan of the Achaemanidae—there were six great houses which had a rank superior to that of all other grandees'.

[3] Compare Raverty, 820, 862. The amusing instance of Hulāgū who despised the use of such distinctive titles in Hindūstān except in the case of Ulugh Khān Balban; compare also B.N., 278 for the change of titles among the Afghāns who conferred the titles of *A'zam-i-Humāyūn*, *Khān-i-Jahān* and *Khān-i-Khānān* respectively.

[4] Compare the opinion of Hājī Dabīr in Z.W., II, 782; also B., 145. The *amīr* was given the command of a thousand or above, and others in lower grades of hundreds and tens respectively.

[5] Compare, for instance, B., 376.

[6] Compare Raverty for illustration 645.

distinctive titles were those of *Khvāja-Jahān*, *'Imād-ul-mulk*, *Qivām-ul-mulk*, *Nizām-ul-mulk*, *A'zam-ul-mulk*, *Qutlugh Khān*, *Ulugh Khān*, *Sadr-i-Jahān*, *'Alam-ul-mulk*, etc.[1] Hindu influence made itself felt in outlying provinces ; and the Sultāns of Bengal even awarded such titles as *Nāyaka Khān* and *Satya Rājā*.[2]

Along with their titles of honour the nobles held other 'dignities' which were designated as *marātib*. The Marātib signified for instance, their privileges when the royal court was held, the specific quality of the dress, the sword and the dagger which the Sultān presented to them once a year, and the number of horses or elephants they were entitled to have in their processions ; similarly, the number of their retainers, their ensigns, drums, trumpets and pipes, etc.[3] In some cases, these *marātib* were almost regal in appearance.[4]

(*b*) *Aqtā'*.—The award of *Aqtā's* or revenue-assignments was the most important, since in the last resort the material resources at the command of a noble determined his social position and his political influence. It appears that the system of *Aqtā's* in the form in which it came to India was first designed by the Caliph Muqtadir to secure a regular remittance of revenue from the governors who had made themselves almost independent on their lands. The Muqti' collected the entire revenue of the district, defrayed the administrative charges, paid the troops and remitted a fixed sum from the remainder to the Court of Baghdād. These grants were given the name of *Aqtā'āt*,[5] the grantee being styled the *Muqta'*. The assignments of revenue in Hindūstān retained these essential features all along. It appears that the holder of an *Aqtā'* was given a more or less free hand in the administration of his assignment, which he sometimes leased out to other persons for a bigger sum, the poor peasantry suffering all the burden of these increased exactions. The revenue department at Delhi sent out its touring auditors but it was very difficult to control the *Aqtā'*-

---

[1] Compare B., 410 ; T.M.S., 385.

[2] Compare P.P., 120.

[3] Compare K.R., II, 82 ; T.M.S., 389 ; T.A., I, 342.

[4] Apart from the examples noted in the previous chapter in the account of the royal prerogatives, some more may be enumerated here. They are usually confined to the nobles who had the rank of *Khān*. For instance, when Bakhtyār Khaljī was nominated to Bengal, Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak invested him with a canopy of state, royal ensigns and kettle-drums, gave him royal stallions and a waist-band and his own robes of state (*vide* T.M., 55). Similarly, on the birth of his son, Sultān Mubārak Shāh Khaljī invested some of his Khāns with royal parasols (*Chatrs*) and gave his own parasol to Khusrau Khān (*vide* K.K., 771). The Chatr of a noble of Fīrūz Tughluq named Tātār Khān was inscribed with a golden peacock, the use of which, like that of the *humā*, was a royal prerogative (*vide* B., 578 ; A., 391). Sher Khān, after appointing Haibat Khān to the charge of Multān gave him the title of *A'zam-i-Humāyūn* and a red canopy of state (*vide* T.S.S., 61).

[5] Kremer, 363.

holders, especially in outlying places.[1] In form, and as long as the state was powerful enough to enforce its will in fact, the *Aqtā's* of a noble as well as his distinctions and honours were purely personal. The State insisted on a very clear distinction between private property, which was subject to the law of inheritance, and public offices and assignments in which no vested or contingent rights could accrue. The position was left somewhat undefined because of the weakened power of the central administration after the death of Muhammad Tughluq. When the Afghān nobles began to treat their *Aqtā's* as heritable. Sultān Sikandar Lodī made the position unmistakably clear to the successor of a famous Afghān noble, the *Masnad-i-'Ālī*, named Zain-ud-dīn. 'Let Zain-ud-dīn understand' so reads the royal *farmān* 'that the assignments are conferred on him in a purely personal capacity and not as a relation of the late Masnad-i-'Ālī'. For the son of the late noble, the monarch assigned a cash allowance and for the wife a piece of land as a *patta*, that is, subject to renewal and sanction every year. The same conditions applied to the grant of the cash allowance.[2] Thus, in its normally strong condition the State was very reluctant to forgo its rights of resuming the Aqtā' lands, or even religious and charitable *waqfs* (endowments). A weak monarch, however, found it convenient not to interfere with the arrangements of his predecessor. A succession of weak monarchs or a weak dynasty gave to the continued possession of an *Aqtā'* a certain amount of sanctity and resemblance to private property. The power of ensuring the descent of an honour or a revenue-assignment from the father to the son shows rather the weakness of the central government than the recognition of right of occupancy or right of private possession on the part of the Sultanat.[3]

These assignments of revenue were very large and sometimes comprised whole provinces of the Kingdom. Even modest assignments were very remunerative.[4] The huge totals of these assignments may be judged from the fact that when a valuation sheet was prepared under Fīrūz Tughluq, the total value of revenue-assignments came to more than 57 millions of silver coins.[5] The emoluments of the nobles of rank will be dealt with later.

As to the relative position of the various ranks of nobles: the *Khāns*, as has been said occupied the highest rank. Next

---

[1] Compare I.K., II, 41–50 for an amusing report of an auditor's experiences in an *Aqtā'*.

[2] Compare W.M., 28.

[3] Compare the opinion of Sir Wolseley Haig in H.U.H., 3170.

[4] Compare the case of Ibn Batūta who by administering the *Aqtā'* of a noble in his absence at Deogīr, gained about 5,000 Tankas (*vide* K.R., II, 8).

[5] Moreland, Agrarian, etc. 57; for a summary of *Muqta'* or the position of a revenue-assignment holder—*ibid.*, Appx. B, pp. 218–221.

to them were the *Maliks* who were usually raised from among the *Amīrs* on certain occasions, as for instance the installation of a new monarch, or on the discharge of some very conspicuous services to the State.[1] The *Maliks* shared with the *Khāns* some of their ordinary privileges although a difference of degree was always retained. They were similarly entitled to be addressed by their title of *Malik* and any additional titles of honour, a breach of the rule being punishable at law.[2] It was the same with the last rank of the *Amīrs*. They had similar distinctions and dignities, but the same difference of degree as compared with the two higher ranks. To illustrate the point, in using standards in public, the *Khān* was allowed to take out nine standards but the *Amīr* was not to take more than three; or again, when a *Khān* was permitted to have ten horses led by hand in his procession, the *Amīr* was allowed only two.[3] When Sultān Iltutmish made a gift of an elephant to Nāsir-ud-din, who was a *Malik*, he gave a horse to each of the Amīrs.[4]

However, all ranks of nobles were assigned sufficient funds to employ a large number of retainers and to maintain a big establishment commensurate with their position. These establishments sometimes swelled into enormous dimensions.[5] Further their rank and status were duly considered in the State ceremonies and in the assignment of their seats in all official functions.[6]

(*c*) *Minor Distinctions.*—Apart from the nobles of rank, other subjects were occasionally rewarded with a robe of honour (*khil'at*) made of brocade and a waist-band, or with a horse and trappings, or with a grant of a piece of land, or a cash gift or allowance.[7] The horses so awarded were of four grades as

---

[1] Compare, e.g. B. 242 for those raised on the occasion of a new accession to the throne.

[2] Compare the observation of Ibn Batūta, K.R., I, 107.

[3] Compare Notices, etc. 190.

[4] Raverty 728, 731.

[5] Compare, for instance, that Khusrau Khān had 40,000 persons in his establishment under Mubārak Shāh Khaljī. Some of the Afghān nobles are reported to have employed as many as thirty to forty thousand paid men in their establishments. (*Vide* T.A., I, 342.) Compare for the nobility of Mewār (Rājputāna) the description of Tod, I, pp. 167-168: There is a three-fold division of Mewār chiefs as follows:—

First-class.—We have sixteen whose estates were from 10,000 to 50,000 rupees and upwards in yearly rent. These appear in the presence only on special invitation, upon festivals and solemn ceremonies, and are hereditary councillors of the crown.

Second class.—From five to fifty thousand rupees. Their duty is to be always in attendance. From these chiefly, Foujdārs and military officers are selected.

Third class.—Is that of the Gol holding lands, chiefly under 5,000 rupees, though by favour they may exceed this limit.

[6] Compare A., 291-292.

[7] Compare for instance the list of awards to 'Alā-ul-mulk. B. 271; compare *ibid.*, 377 for instances from the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī.

regards the quality of the animal and the trappings.[1] The award of a robe of honour (*khil'at*) became so popular with all classes of people at the close of the period that even the Sikh Guru Angad, is credited with distributing two *khil'ats* to his followers every year.[2] The system of *khil'ats* as well as the nature of other rewards had a distinctly Persian origin.[3]

3. *The Nobility and the Sultanat of Delhi.*—In the early period of the Sultanat the *Umarā* or nobles were its greatest, if not its only, prop. Their significance was duly recognized by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish, who may be said to be the first to consolidate the possessions of his predecessors as well as his own considerable conquests.[4] The establishment of the kingdom had only been possible because of the support and the devotion of these chiefs who came from the same class as other monarchs of the Slave dynasty, and had no particular reason to subordinate themselves like other common subjects of the State to the will of the Sultān. As a result, long before the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, the power of the nobles and their organization began to develop. They organized themselves into a corporate body of nobles which was better known as 'The Forty'. The behaviour of its members and its occasional conflicts with the administration convinced Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban (who was one of them) that its existence was a serious menace to the State.[5] He managed to exterminate most of its influential members and finally to dissolve the organization most ruthlessly. However, even Balban did not forget to

---

1 Compare K.R., II, 78.

2 Compare Macauliffe, II, 40.

3 Compare Huart, 148 for the Persian tradition :—'The gift of a robe of honour from the King's ward-robe was a very ancient custom . . . . . Sapor II gave the Armenian general "a royal garment, an ermine fur, a gold and silver pendant to attach to the eagle on his helmet, a diadem, breast ornaments, a tent, carpets and gold vessels. To reward the grand Mobed who brought him some good news, Ardashir I, filled his mouth with rubies, gold coins, pearls and jewellery " '

4 Compare B., 137 for the remarks attributed to Iltutmish, how, when the nobles honoured him by standing with folded hands in his presence, he on his part felt like stepping down from the throne and kissing their hands and even their feet.

5 Compare Baranī B., 28 for the organization ; also K.R., I, 130. Compare a few examples to realize the political power of the nobles. When Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn Balban assumed the royal authority and was crowned as a Sultān, these nobles superseded him by placing 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh on the throne, and the former had to submit to their decision. (*Vide* Raverty, 622.) Again when Ulugh Khān Balban was dismissed from his office by the Sultān because of the machinations of Malik Raihān, the protest and military demonstration of these nobles led to a 'mutual accommodation of affairs' between them and the Sultān, who had to reverse his earlier decision and turn out the rival of Balban from the office (*ibid.*, 830). Similarly when one of the Forty, named Badr-ud-dīn, was discovered plotting for the overthrow of the Sultān, the latter merely called upon him 'to give up his intentions' and did nothing beyond sending the noble to his *Aqtā'* of Budā'ūn (*ibid.*, 753).

safeguard the privileges of the nobles. He warned his son that no kingdom could prosper without the support of the nobility.[1] Thus the Sultanat was not opposed to the growth or the existence of the nobility, but only to its corporate organization. After this temporary set-back under Balban, the nobles established their political influence again, and became sufficiently powerful for the Sultāns to court their support in maintaining their throne.[2]

When 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī came to the throne he realized the menace of the foreign nobles, and met the situation by incorporating an Indian element and by giving these Indian nobles position and power in the State. His successor also carried on this policy. Unfortunately, however, the Indian party at the court overdid itself, and the behaviour of Khusrau Khān and his friends antagonised the general Muslim opinion, which began to labour under the fear of being submerged in the rising tide of Indian (or otherwise Hindu) domination. This afforded an opportunity to the enterprising Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq to supplant the usurper Khusrau Khān and establish his own kingdom. When Muhammad Tughluq came to the throne he calmly reviewed the whole position, in one of the scenes of which he had personally taken part. He found that the foreign Turkish nobles and their Indian successors had both been tried and found wanting. He, therefore, hit upon the idea (in the earlier part of his reign) of recruiting foreigners from the Muslim lands outside India. The claims of Indians and those of Turkish origin domiciled in Hindūstān were systematically ignored and the monarch showed extreme anxiety in getting outsiders at any price. The Sultān went to the extent of offering the most responsible and distinguished offices of the kingdom—for instance those of a Wazīr, a Dabīr, a military commander, a judge, a professor of theology or a Shaikh-ul-Islām to almost any foreigner of some learning. The foreigners coming into Hindūstān were collectively known as 'The Honourables' (A'izza).[3] If the foreigners did not make any use of these opportunities, the fault lay entirely with them. They came to Hindūstān avowedly to make their fortunes and to return to their own country as soon as they could. They did

---

[1] Compare B., 78.

[2] Compare B. (MS.), 70; compare how Bughrā Khān felt extremely satisfied that a strong faction of the nobles called the 'Kotwālians' (that is, the sons and supporters of Fakhr-ud-dīn, the Kotwāl of Delhi under Balban) had installed his son Sultān Kaiqubād on the throne of Delhi and were warmly supporting him. Similarly, when Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī came to the throne, he had not the courage to enter his own capital city, because of the opposition of Turkish nobles. (*Ibid.*, 180-181.)

[3] Compare the account of Ibn Batūta, K.R., II, 3, 78; compare also *ibid.*, 85, how when Muhammad Tughluq started for the Ma'bar expedition he lavished gifts and rewards on the foreigners, to the exclusion of the Indians.

not care to accept a remunerative employment in the State which necessitated a prolonged stay in Hindūstān. Even when some of them did choose to stay in Hindūstān they were more anxious to amass wealth by whatever means they could than to carry out the administrative measures of the Sultān for raising agricultural production, or for the greater efficiency of the State machinery.[1] After some experience of these foreigners, Muhammad Tughluq felt bitterly disappointed and reviewed his whole policy again.[2] He had nothing to expect now from foreigners, or even from those of foreign extraction; the previous monarchs had tried the Turkish nobility and the Indians; he had tried the foreign Muslims; all had failed the Sultanat. The only course left was to try the common people of Hindūstān irrespective of creed and religion. So, in the latter part of his reign, we find him introducing principles of extreme democratisation in administration, which provoked the wrath of the contemporary historian Baranī and other Muslim writers whose interests were exposed to danger. The highest civil and military offices of the kingdom were thrown open to all classes of Indians, and the only qualification for recruitment was efficiency and talent.[3] Only perhaps the lowest were excluded from rising to the highest distinctions in the kingdom. Under his successor we come across the appointment of the first Indian Wazīr—the famous Khān-i-Jahān. This was the highest office in the gift of a Sultān. The power and position of a Wazīr was only second to that of the Sultān after the establishment of a strong administration. The rulers who succeeded to the throne of the Tughluqs after a brief interval of the invasion of Tīmūr and the reign of the Sayyids, came from an essentially Indian stock.

Meanwhile, the social and cultural intercourse between the Hindus and the Muslims had gone far ahead, so that when Bābur appeared on the scene he had to fight the combined

---

[1] Compare K.R., II, 41 on the profiteering character of the foreigners, and how Ibn Batūta attributes the ruin and misfortune of one of them, Shihāb-ud-dīn, to the wrath of the Divine on his ill-gotten riches and wealth from Hindūstān.

[2] Compare the remarks of Muhammad Tughluq B., 501, how he decided 'to leave no foreigner alive on the face of the earth'.

[3] Compare B., 505. Compare, that the list of persons he recruited for the administration consists of all classes of low-born persons—musicians, brewers, dancers, barbers, cooks, vegetable sellers, weavers, gardeners petty shop-keepers, slaves and 'all sorts of low scum (*bad-asls*)'. Compare also, that some Hindu names that appear in the list—like Nankā, Lodhā, Pīrā, Kishen—cannot be mistaken. Compare for a few distinguished Indians:—'Imād-ul-mulk the muster-master of Sultān Balban (*vide* B. (MS.) 61); 'Ain-ul-mulk the governor of Muhammad Tughluq in Kara. All foreigners (*khurāsānīs*) were mortally afraid of the latter when he rebelled 'because he was an Indian who resented the domination of the foreigners' (*vide* K.R., II, 64).

force of the Hindus and the Muslims.[1] The last battle of the Afghāns was fought under the command and the leadership of a Hindu noble and general when the crown passed to Akbar.[2]

4. *Personal Relations between the Nobles and the Sultān.*—It is somewhat difficult to determine the exact nature of the private relations between a Sultān and his nobles. When, at an earlier period of his life, a noble was a slave of the Sultān, the position of the latter was that of a master; their relations were frankly those of dependence and service, as has been pointed out before. There were no personal rights or privileges in that status of social life. But when the slave, after being manumitted, ascended the social ladder, expediency and convention compelled the sovereign to abstain from interfering with his life too much. The position was by no means very clear even now. The Sultān persisted in maintaining his former position which was never openly disputed by the nobles. There was thus no border-line where the domain of the monarch ceased to exist and the private life of a noble began. In times of insecurity, the Sultān actively interfered with the lives of the nobles.[3] Under better and more stable conditions, there was greater harmony between the two. The Sultān usually acted as a patron and a friend, took a sympathetic interest in the affairs of his nobles, and even composed their mutual quarrels when they fell out with each other. Under the later dynasties of the Sayyids and the Afghāns the original hold of the Sultān was relaxed, and the nobles were left to themselves more or less completely, until political reasons compelled the State to interfere wih their life.[4]

---

[1] Compare B.N., 28 where Bābur speaks of a Hindu who bore the title of Khān-i-Jahān, creating trouble for the Mughals in the neighbourhood of Gwalior.

[2] Some idea may be gathered of the power and influence of Hemū, the Hindu General of the Afghāns, from the remarks of the author of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* f. 121-122. When Hemū returned to Sultān 'Adali after defeating the Afghāns of the Karrānī sect, the Sultān heaped many favours on him and conferred upon him the title of Vikramāditya. Some time later the monarch handed over to him all power of the State. Matters went to such lengths that hardly anything was left under the Sultān except bare means of subsistence. The elephants and treasures all passed under the control of Hemū. Compare also Abu'l Fazl's appreciation of Hemū in A.N., I, 337.

[3] The Sultān conferred the children of a noble in marriage as a rule; in fact, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī made it obligatory for the nobles to secure the permission of the Sultān before entering into any form of relationship among themselves. Similarly, 'Alā-ud-dīn prohibited them from calling on one another or inviting one another to dinners or social parties without his approval. His orders were faithfully carried out (*vide* B., 286-7; compare Raverty, 767).

[4] Compare A., 411 how Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq treated his nobles and composed their mutual quarrels; compare also T.S.S., 57 for the action of Sher Shāh against a governor of Bengal who married the daughter of a former king of Bengal and assumed an air of independence. Sher Shāh had him summarily punished and forbade all others under threat of severe

5. *The Composition of the Nobility.*—It is difficult to give the exact number of nobles of various ranks under the Sultanat,[1] in point of composition they were a heterogeneous body, being composed of all sorts of foreigners and Indians, whose character and number varied with every ruling dynasty. In the beginning of the Muslim rule almost all of them were of Turkish extraction. The Afghāns came to be incorporated gradually at a later date. They are said to have come to India from Roh, a territory between Hasan Abdāl and Kābul, and claimed to be descended from the Sultāns of Ghūr. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq was the first monarch who extended his favours to the Afghāns though the latter had come and settled in Hindūstān long before.[2] The Mongol invasions introduced a small element of Mongols who accepted Islām and were favoured by the State in the beginning. They were given the appellation of *Nau-Muslims* or new-converts to Islām. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī massacred them wholesale on the rebellion of some of them in Gujarāt.[3] The Tughluqs are supposed to be of a ' mixed breed ' being originally the slaves of Sultān Balban who had intermarried with the Jāts in Hindūstān.[4] The later Mughal conquest of India introduced many Persians, Mongols, and Turks to the existing classes of nobles. In coastal towns, especially on the coast of Gujarāt, all sorts of Muslim foreigners—the Arabs, the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Afghāns, the people of Java, the Turks, the Egyptians, and still others, came to be domiciled and added to the variety of the racial stock of the Muslim upper classes of Hindūstān.[5] More important among these classes were the Turks in the beginning, and the Afghāns and the Mughals at the close, of the period. The relations between the Mughals and the Afghāns were not very pleasant for a while, until at last the passage of time healed all rancours and reconciled the latter to the dominion of the former.[6] We may add to these classes the Rājput chiefs of Rājputāna who stoutly held to their

---

punishment from entering into relations with a deposed royal family without previously securing his approval.

1 Compare A., 109. Several thousand followed Fīrūz Tughluq in his invasion of Bengal.

2 Compare T.F., I, 412, 281. For earlier references, Amīr Khusrau who gives an estimate of their character in A.S., 37 ; Ibn Batūta who describes them as a tribe of 'Ajam (*vide* K.R., I, 241). Tīmūr mentions that they used to live in the west of Kashmīr (*vide* Z.N., 304).

3 Compare for details the account of Baranī in B. 219.

4 Compare T.F., I, 230-231.

5 Compare Barbosa I, 119-120 ; also Ross, Introduction to Z.W., II, XXXI.

6 Compare T.S.S., 54, for an interesting story of an Afghān noble named 'Īsa Khān' who had once saved the life of Bairam Khān when Humāyūn was driven out of India by the Afghāns. When Bairam came to power as the regent of Akbar, the Afghān noble in spite of his want and poverty, refused to go to a Mughal for favour as too humiliating for the pride of an Afghān.

ground in opposing the Muslim domination, until at last the Sultanat recognized their status. We meet these chiefs earlier in the period as vassals at the Court of the Sultān or occasionally at the Courts of his viceroys in their own territory. At the close of the period we find them on fairly good terms with the rulers of Delhi and with the Sultāns of new provincial dynasties, e.g. Gujarāt and Mālwa.[1]

II. The *'Ulamā* and the Religious Classes.

The religious class of Islām was composed of a number of important groups, namely, the theologians, the ascetics, the Sayyids, the Pīrs, and their descendants. Of these, the most important were the theologians, whose functions and position in the state have been dealt with previously. The theologians who occupied the judicial and religious offices in the kingdom, were collectively known as *Dastār-bandān*, or turban-wearers, because they wore their official head-dress, the turban. The Sayyids were recognized by their distinctive head-dress of a pointed cap or *kulāh* and were known as *kulāh-dārān* or cap-wearers.[2] Both of these groups with their distinctive head-dresses had a recognized status in the kingdom, being the exponents of orthodox Islām. Both of them followed the Sunnite form of Islām and the Hanafite school of Muslim Law. The other schools of Sunnite Law, though not prohibited, were not encouraged. The respect and reverence for 'Alī as the fourth Caliph of Muhammad and for all persons claiming descent from the Prophet was general; but the Shī'ahs were uniformly persecuted under various charges of religious heterodoxy and agnosticism. It was only at the close of the period. and mainly through Persian influence and Mughal Emperors that this persecution of Shī'ahs ceased, though Sunnite Islām still held its official and predominant position. Other religious groups were not so well marked out as the theologians and the Sayyids. These groups may be treated separately as follows:—

1. *The 'Ulamā.*—The special favourites and associates of the Sultanat as was mentioned in the first chapter, were the 'Ulamā or the state theologians. As a rule they had undergone a course of training in Muslim Law, Logic, Arabic letters, and the religious literature of Islām in general, namely Tafsīr, Hadīs, Kalām, etc.[3] Although the Qur'ān emphasizes their position in

---

[1] Compare a very interesting instance of the personal relations between Salīm Shāh Sūr and the Rājā of Guwalior, T.D., 110-111. Compare T.F., I, 128 for an early recognition of Hindu chiefs; compare 'Alā-ud-dīn's treatment of Rājā of Deogīr, T.F., I, 206: for Fīrūz Shāh B., 587-588.

[2] Raverty, 705.

[3] The fact that they were nick-named 'turban-wearers' is probably because of their undergoing the prescribed academic course at the end of which a turban is conferred. This is equivalent to the conferment of an academic degree in a University convocation in modern times.

a general way as a separate class of Muslims, 'inviting people to the path of goodness', no special provision was made for them in the Holy Book.[1] Spurious traditions soon began to be spread among the people. The Prophet was reported to have said: 'Honour the 'Ulamā, for they are the successors of the prophets; he who honours them, honours the Prophet of Islām and Allāh thereby'. Similar emphasis was laid on the peculiar distinction that attaches to the acquirement of religious education.[2]

Under the special conditions of development of the Muslim Society in Hindūstān, it was natural to expect that the *'Ulamā* would acquire an undue prominence. Before Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, no monarch had sufficient courage to put an effective check to the growing influence of the 'Ulamā, in spite of their sometimes acting in a manner contrary to his interests.[3] Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn felt it necessary to define the exact functions of the 'Ulamā under the Sultanat, and to compel them to confine all their activities strictly within these prescribed limits. These limits were: to decide on judicial cases and to arbitrate on purely religious matters; all other matters were put outside their scope.[4] The Sultān, however, held all real power, and though he humoured the Sūfīs now and then, he ruled very strictly according to the demands of a situation, and religious considerations found no favour with him. Muhammad Tughluq wanted to go a step further in secularising the State. He put the 'Ulamā exactly on the same footing as other employees of the State, and treated them accordingly.[5] With the advent of Fīrūz Tughluq the tide turned somewhat in favour of the 'Ulamā and the growth of religious influence in State counsels. The theologians took advantage of the numerous failures of Muhammad Tughluq, and persuaded his successor to listen to

---

[1] Holy Qur'ān, 3: 103.

[2] Compare T.M. (II), 82. 3. The saying attributed to Muhammad in the case of religious education and especially Muslim Law (*Fiqh*) runs: 'Forget not to belong to one of the three groups; a teacher of Law, a student of Law, or at least one who listens patiently to its exposition; for verily, he who does not belong to any of the above categories, is foredoomed to perdition'.

[3] Compare the attitude of Muhammad bin Sām of Ghūr and Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak in Hasan Nizāmī T.M. (I), 56 (II), 118 (IV), 112, 203; compare Raverty 629 for the gifts of Nāsir-ud-dīn immediately after the conquest of Bengal; compare Raverty 709, how the 'Ulamā of Delhi invited a faction of nobles headed by Qutlugh Khān and 'Izz-ud-dīn to occupy Delhi under Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Compare B., 47 how Sultān Balban used to call on 'Ulamā in person, and to attend the burial ceremony if any of them died. Similarly, he supported the families of deceased theologians.

[4] Compare T.F., I, 192.

[5] Compare K.R., II, 54, for an interesting case in which some theologians of Sind were charged with misappropriation of State funds and were severely punished.

their advice in matters of State policy.[1] A number of law books were compiled, new impetus was given to religious schools and other institutions, and the 'Ulamā had reassumed their earlier position and influence when the invasion of Tīmūr took place. But meanwhile the State was too well organized to admit the influence of the religious class except in certain matters of comparative insignificance. The Afghāns, on coming to power, treated the 'Ulamā with marked respect but never admitted them to any effective voice in the administration. On the other hand, they used the religious influence of the theologians for their own ends.[2]

We have explained in an earlier chapter the reactions of the establishment of the Sultanat on the religious life of Muslims and the essentially useful service which the 'Ulamā performed by associating themselves very closely with the Sultanat. Let us study here the reactions of this association on the moral and spiritual outlook of the 'Ulamā, who cannot be dissociated from their main function of the spiritual and religious leadership of the Muslims of India. The religion of Islām claims to provide a comprehensive code of life for its followers. The question of its leadership is thus intimately mixed up with the broader questions of public morals and the ethical outlook of the Muslim community, and as such deserves a careful consideration. The 'Ulamā abdicated from their office of leading the Muslims in the path of virtue and piety. Sultān Balban complained of the want of truthfulness and courage among the 'Ulamā as a whole.[3] It was with a certain amount of pain that Bughrā Khān discovered the fact that 'un-Islāmic' and godless theologians had dispensed his son Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād from the observance of the obligatory fast of Ramazān, and had deliberately explained away the Qur'ānic injunctions, through sheer greed of 'the accursed gold'. He emphatically warned his son from trusting these 'latter-day' 'Ulamā, and asked him to keep away from these theologians, whom he described as 'greedy rogues whose highest deity was this world and not the next'. On the other hand, Bughrā Khān recommended to his son the association and company of those who had renounced this world.[4] Muhammad Tughluq held similar

---

[1] Compare B. 580; compare *J.A.S.B.*, XIX, 280, for the offer of Fīrūz Tughluq to the 'Ulamā of Bengal to add to their existing emoluments in the event of his victory over the ruler of Bengal.

[2] Compare the instructive instance of Sher Shāh massacring Pūran Mal and his four thousand warriors of Rāisen after bringing them out of their fortress under the most solemn pledges of security and after an oath on the Qur'ān to the same purpose. The 'Ulamā issued a *Fatwa* (legal precept) authorizing this act, one of the ugliest and most dishonourable i the whole history of India.

[3] Compare B., 94.

[4] Compare *ibid.*, 154-155; compare also the Memoirs of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, 317, for the considered opinion of the monarch.

views. Besides these royal estimates of the 'Ulamā, let us see what Amīr Khusrau, himself an orthodox Muslim and a shrewd observer, has to say about the position. He gives his considered opinion that the *Qāzīs* (or those of the 'Ulamā who occupied judicial offices) were thoroughly ignorant of the principles of Muslim law and were otherwise unfit to occupy any responsible position in the kingdom. According to him they had neither learning nor virtue of any kind to their credit. When a monarch was a tyrant, the 'Ulamā were sure to support him. In their private lives they exhibited a perfect disregard of religious injunctions and were unscrupulously bold in committing sins and violating all provisions of Islām. Amīr Khusrau finds that the only distinguishing feature of the theologians as a class was their hypocrisy, vanity and conceit. He sums up the whole position in a sentence, by declaring that the respect paid to the 'Ulamā was purely through force of convention, and that if intrinsic virtue were to decide the measure of social honour 'the laity was a thousand times better than the priesthood'.[1] These estimates are rather sweeping and too strong, but since they come from those whose interests were not opposed to those of the 'Ulamā, are worthy of the greatest consideration.

The Sayyids.—A peculiar sanctity always attaches to a Sayyid in Muslim society, probably because of his alleged descent from the Prophet. The Muslims as a rule pay exaggerated honours to the memory of their prophet, which comes to be shared in some degree by every one who professes to be descended from Muhammad,[2] through his daughter Fātima. The rise of the Abbasids and the spread of Shī'ite movements in Islām has greatly added to the moral position of the Sayyids. The sentiment of respect for Sayyids was very strong right from the beginning of the Sultanat, though their numbers were not very large. A large number of Sayyids came to seek shelter in Hindūstān from the ravages of the Mongols in their own land

---

According to him the 'Ulamā of his times were singularly irreligious. They were notorious for concealing the truth and their greed of money made them vicious and godless. They had degraded themselves to the position of petty 'job-hunters'. In a word, the dignity of Islām and religious integrity had disappeared from the face of the earth.

[1] Compare M.A. for a long discussion 55–60, 69; compare in this connection Baranī (B., 446) for an interesting personal confession of the historian who also belonged to the class of learned theologians. He declares that he himself along with others of his class had actively helped the Sultāns in openly violating the religious injunctions of Islām, by deliberately stretching the meaning of the Qur'ānic texts to carry out the desires of the monarch. 'I do not know' says the repentant scholar 'what will happen to others but my present miseries and sufferings in my old age are largely the fruits of my sayings and doings.'

[2] Compare Hasan Nizāmī T.M. (II) for early feelings towards a Sayyid. 'His ancestors were the pride of Yasrib and Batha (the holy land of Arabia) and his forefathers, the decoration of the Muslim pulpit and leaders of prayers.'

and were welcomed warmly by Sultān Balban.[1] Like the brothers of Joseph, other Sayyids were not slow in taking advantage of these opportunities in the Muslim kingdom of Delhi. It was not surprising to find in a land which had been used to the privileges of the Brahman hierarchy, an exaggerated and indiscriminate respect for these privileged visitors. Every Sayyid, from the fact of his being descended from the family of the Prophet, was supposed to be brave, truthful, pious, and possessed of every other noble quality. It was considered the height of impropriety, if not an actual sin, to employ a Sayyid in a low position.[2] The Sayyids were similarly credited with possessing the knowledge of occult phenomena and of supernatural mysteries. Even proud monarchs, therefore, did not hesitate to humble themselves before them.[3] After the invasion of Tīmūr in 1398 A.D., the Sayyids even succeeded for a while in establishing a ruling dynasty on the throne of Delhi. Unfortunately, they were not well qualified for this task and their last king quietly renounced his throne, ignominiously resigning himself to the *Aqtā'* of Budā'ūn. The loss of political power, however, did not damage the social position of the Sayyids as a class, and the Afghān successors scrupulously, and even superstitiously, respected the concessions and privileges of the Sayyids.[4]

Other Religious Groups.—We have mentioned in passing how Bughrā Khān advised his son to seek the company of those who

---

[1] Compare B., 111.

[2] Compare for instance T.M.S., 431. Compare also Amīr Khusrau's apology to a Sayyid and his feelings towards the class. K.K., 463; also Baranī's estimate B., 349.

[3] Compare the most flattering honours Muhammad Tughluq paid to the *Makhdūm-zāda* or the descendant of the caliph who came to India (in Baranī's account and in T.F., I, 271-272). More interesting in some ways is the attitude of Tīmūr towards the Sayyids. According to all accounts of Indian invasions he uniformly protected the lives of Sayyids and other Muslims of religious classes all along his march while making an indiscriminate and savage slaughter of all other human beings. In fact, it is soberly reported (*vide* M., 5) that when a chief of Transoxiana named 'Abd-Ullāh had certain scruples in offering prayers for the soul of Tīmūr whom he considered an ungodly savage whose hands were red with human blood, the Prophet of Allāh himself came to assure him in a dream that his scruples were baseless, for had not Tīmūr, while killing human beings in the service of the Lord, uniformly protected the lives of his descendants. Tīmūr's love of the religious class and his spiritual attitude in general has drawn from the pen of his chronicler some very interesting verses which disclose the spiritual outlook of an average Muslim Sultān who believed in the power of the recluses and the ascetics and in the mediation of the 'adepts' in religion, similarly in the blessings of the Sayyids (*vide* Z.M., 6).

[4] Compare W.M., 26 for the interesting case of a Sayyid of Koil who was accused of misappropriating State revenue on the basis of very strong evidence, and was tried before Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who discharged the accused and even permitted him to keep his dishonest gains. Compare also M.T., I, 391-392 for the feeling of Salīm Shāh Sūrī who expressed his willingness to carry the shoes of a Sayyid, which was the mark of extreme humiliation.

had renounced the world. We have similarly referred to the fact above that a class of Muslims adhered to the original ideals of Islām and took to asceticism and 'other-worldly' occupations in general. While these Muslims persisted in living according to their ideals, they created a peculiar awe and solemn reverence for themselves among the followers of Islām for whom amidst their materialistic surroundings, this lure for the primitive had a special fascination. Hindūstān was already familiar with the Hindu ideal of a *Guru*. This found its appropriate expression in the corresponding belief in a *Pīr* or a *Shaikh* in Muslim society. If an ascetic had managed to scorn the world during his lifetime, his son and successors were reaping a fruitful crop of worldly gains after his death. The *Pīrzādas* and *Makhdūmzādas*, or the descendants of *Pīrs* and *Shaikhs* respectively, began to occupy the position of spiritual preceptors, especially because of the growing moral decay among the 'Ulamā. They began to supersede the theologians and in time came to occupy the position of 'the Brahmans of Islām'.[1] Again the Hindu *yogīs* and ascetics were not forgotten. If the Muslims believed in occult phenomena or mystic elements, the yogīs had an older tradition and a better professional equipment. Muslim Sūfīs mixed with the Hindu Sādhus and Sannyāsīs and Yogīs for inspiration and guidance, without, however, always acknowledging the source in public.[2] The Muslim monarch too did not fail to approach the Hindu ascetics along with Muslim saints, for aid in the fulfilment of his inmost desires.[3] The detailed treatment of this aspect of Hindu-Muslim interaction however, lies outside our scope.

III. Domestics and Slaves.

In our enumeration of Muslim social classes, we might conveniently treat here the important class of domestics and slaves who were a familiar feature of every respectable Muslim home, and as has been pointed out above, incidentally added to

---

[1] Compare T.D., 57 where an Afghān noble explains to a Hindu noble that a *Shaikhzāda* occupied the same status among the Muslims as a Brāhman in Hindu society. Compare W.M., 45 for the opinion of some nobles of Buhlūl Lodī who expressed their devotion to the son of their *Pīr* (or *Pīrzāda*) by offering their heads to him if he chose to sit there.

[2] Compare some interesting references in *Sahā'if* of *Shaikh* Sadr-ud-dīn and *Sahā'if-ut-tarīqa* of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Nathū (B.M.M.S.), among other books. The subject of Indian Sūfīsm has not yet been carefully examined. The Muslim writers, swayed by their preconceived notions of Sūfīsm, usually dispute this opinion (Abdul-Mājid, Tasawwuf-i-Islām. Urdu. A'zamgarh).

[3] Compare for instance an interesting account of Yogīs and their occult demonstrations before Muhammad Tughluq in Ibn Batūta. K.R., II, 99; compare also Bābur's meeting with Nānak in Sikh tradition and Macauliffe.

the growing Muslim population of Hindūstān.[1] The life of a Muslim nobleman was so much divided between war (*razm*) and pleasures (*bazm*) that he hardly found any time to attend to his personal and domestic work. In course of time the code of social behaviour began to view domestic work as unworthy of a gentleman's dignity and honour.

The most important section of these domestics was comprised of male and female slaves. Slaves were imported into India from many countries; those of Turkistān and India had acquired a classical reputation all over the East.[2] Among the slaves of Indian origin, those of Asam were especially valued because of their strong physique and their powers of endurance, their price being many times that of slaves of other nationalities.[3] Other Indian slaves were not dear; their skill in many things was great; their only defect, if any, was their strong attachment to their ancient faith and culture.[4] A special class of slaves was employed for the care of the female inmates of the *haram*. The latter were usually bought in childhood and castrated. Trade in eunuchs was carried on in Bengal in the thirteenth century. They were sometimes imported also from the farthest Malay islands.[5]

Female slaves were of two kinds, those employed for domestic and menial work, and others who were bought for company and pleasure. The former, wanting in education and skill, and bought expressly for rough domestic work, were often subjected to all sorts of indignities[6]; the latter had a more honourable and sometimes even a dominating position in the household. Apart from the slave girls of India, female slaves were also imported from China and Turkistān.[7] On the whole the selection among the female slaves was made somewhat on the lines humorously suggested by a Mughal noble: 'Buy a Khurāsānī woman for her work, a Hindu woman for her capacity for nursing children, a Persian woman for the pleasures of her company, and a Transoxianian for thrashing her as a warning for the other three'.[8]

After some time the employment of slaves became general and was by no means confined to the Muslims alone. Hindu noblemen and chiefs began to employ slaves for military and

---

[1] Compare B., 192 for the opinion of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī regarding the occupations of the nobles; also *ibid.*, 226 under 'Alā-ud-dīn. Compare T.D., 82 for the soldiers' fondness for courtesans' quarters.

[2] Compare K.R., I, 240.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 144.

[4] Compare Notices, etc. 200 for the skill of the Indian slaves; Amīr Khusrau's opinion of their defects in I.K., I, 169.

[5] Compare Yule, II, 115; Barbosa II, 147.

[6] Compare the remarks of Amīr Khusrau. I.K., IV, 334, 169-170; F.F., 47*b*.

[7] Compare *Ibid.*, I, 166-167.

[8] Compare Blockmann, I, 327.

domestic purposes.[1] Even public women in the Deccan began to employ slaves for attendance and service.[2] As late as the close of the last century slavery existed in the native States of Rājputāna as it did probably in earlier periods.[3]

The status of slaves.—It is usual to assume that slaves had no defined status or rights under Muslim rule in Hindūstān. Such an opinion is not warranted by facts. Theoretically speaking, since a slave was usually a convert to Islām he possessed the same rights as any other member of Muslim society which is still conspicuous for a certain amount of feeling of brotherhood and equality. Thus, his moral claims, though they might not receive due and full recognition, could never be denied.[4] If he was originally a Hindu, and probably of a lower caste, the social change was decidedly for the better. Even if he had belonged to a higher caste, he had lost his status in Hindu society and could not go back to it except under very humiliating conditions.

In practice, the position of a slave was very different. He was usually a prisoner of war, and according to the military usage of the age, his life was at the mercy of his captor, who had full power of killing him or of otherwise disposing of him. This was clearly understood on both sides long before a military engagement commenced. So when a conqueror (now master of the slave) chose to spare the life of a slave and employ him for menial work, it was an act of favour and of special bene-

---

[1] Compare T.M.S., 459; Sircar, 113.

[2] Compare Major, 29.

[3] Compare Tod, I, 207–210 for a detailed discussion of slaves in Mewār. Apart from agricultural bondage (known as *basāī*, which is redeemable) slavery existed in other forms, the slaves being usually known as *golās* (probably an abbreviation of *ghulām* ?) and *dāses*. The *golās* were the general body of slaves who had lost their liberty and the *dāses* (literally 'slaves') the illegitimate sons of a ruling prince, who had no rank or legal position in the State, though they were liberally provided for by the Rājā. The marriages of slaves (both *golās* and *dāses*) were confined to those of their own class. Their offspring were also slaves, generally esteemed in public according to the quality of the mother—if she was a Rājputnī, a Muslim or one of the degraded tribes. With the familiar advantages or disadvantages of a caste, the slaves also formed a caste of their own, which took away part of the social stigma. Tod bears testimony to the fact that they were well treated in Mewār and even held confidential positions about the chiefs 'whose body they were'. Their distinguishing mark was the wearing of a silver ring round the left ankle.

[4] Compare for instance Yūsuf Gadā (T., 14*b*) and saint Hamadānī (Z.M., 77) both of whom insist that according to the earlier traditions of Islām, the master of a slave should provide more or less the same comforts for his slave as he does for himself. Hamadānī specifically enumerates seven rights that accrue to a slave as against his master, which include the right of religious education, of working for a fixed number of hours and of leave during hours of prayer, of being treated without indignity and contempt, and finally of refusing the performance of work opposed to *Sharī'at*.

violence on the part of the former. Similarly, when the prisoner of war had been sold in the market and bought by a purchaser, he was as much the property of the buyer as any other commodity, and as such, could be given away as a gift or disposed of in any other way.[1] No shrewd captor or buyer, however, neglected to take good care of his property which, given proper attention, could be converted into ready money, perhaps with a good deal of profit. This property in a slave was widely recognized and even finds expression in a legal precept where a Sultān is enjoined to pay proper compensation if he desires to release a slave from the custody of a master.[2] In other respects, a slave was not considered to be a free agent at law and could only be punished in the presence of his master.[3]

Under these conditions it is difficult to apply the modern definitions of industrial slavery to the institution of that age.[4] The slave of those days, for instance, was not on a lower level than the mass of the people. As has been pointed out, he was decidedly in a better social position if he had originally belonged to a low Hindu caste. Again, if a slave found his way into the household of a monarch (as quite a number of them did) though he was nominally a slave, his condition of servitude was shared by the majority of courtiers and other royal employees. In fact, when the liberty of an alleged free man may sometimes have been conspicuously displayed in the doubtful privilege of being allowed to starve, the slave was provided with a secure and fairly comfortable livelihood. A slave in the service of the Sultān was usually manumitted after some time, and was provided with an honourable position, even with rank and an elevated social status.[5] The political conditions and the general instability of life at times helped to raise a talented and enterprising slave to such heights of social eminence as were not ordinarily within reach of the highest and the noblest in the kingdom.[6]

The reactions of the institution of slavery on the manners and the outlook of the age were, however, very different, and

---

1 Compare J.H., 218 for a characteristic illustration to show that in relation to his master, a slave had nothing which he could claim as his own, even his name or identity. Everything depended on the absolute will of his master. Compare also the feeling of Muhammad Tughluq regarding his erstwhile slave Targhī on the occasion of the latter's rebellion, in Baranī.

2 J.H., 105.

3 Compare, F.F., 186.

4 Compare for instance Nieboer's definition of a slave as a person 'who is the property of another, politically and socially, at a lower level than the mass of the people and performing compulsory labour' (*vide* 'Slavery as an Industrial System', page 5).

5 Compare for instance the slaves of Fīrūz Tughluq A., 444.

6 Examples have been cited in previous sections. Compare the estimate of Lane Poole 64; of Gibb 30, in their respective works.

of a far-reaching character. In a slave-holding society, as Nieboer finds, the ruling classes, having learned to command and domineer over their slaves, get used to highly undemocratic ways of life, which is prejudicial to the social well-being of a society. It creates in the long run an offensive and brutal upper class on the one hand, and a bitter and vindictive lower class on the other. Similarly a long tradition of slavery creates a set of persons born to work that others may not work, and another set of persons to think that others may not think. Another obvious inference from this unhealthy division of classes is that manual labour becomes identified with slave labour and, therefore, discredited. Among other effects Nieboer finds that slavery often engenders cruelty or at least harshness, that slaves are demoralized because of the lack of proper education, and because of want of normal family relations, and that slavery prevents the development of the sense of human dignity which lies at the foundation of morals.[1] All this gives to a slave-holding society the stamp of unprogressiveness and a socially unhealthy character. These social consequences, though not so pronounced, are fairly well marked in the social development of mediæval Indian society.

IV. Muslim Masses.

It was somewhat difficult to distinguish the lower classes of Muslims from the masses of Hindus. Most of them were originally Hindu converts to Islām, which had not materially altered their social position, although it may have improved it in some cases. The Sultāns may have been somewhat indulgent to the Muslim masses, on certain occasions, but this is by no means certain.[2] With his conversion to Islām the average Muslim did not change his old environment, which was deeply influenced by caste distinctions and a general social exclusiveness. As a result Indian Islām slowly began to assimilate the broad features of Hinduism. The various classes of which the Muslim community was composed began to live aloof from one another even in separate quarters in the same city.[3] On the other hand the honour and respect paid to the foreign ruling and privileged classes gave to the foreign and non-Indian extraction of a Muslim, the highest claims to

---

1 Compare the observations and conclusions of Nieboer, 436. Compare the estimate of Baranī in F.J., 72.

2 For instance the massacres of Tīmūr were indiscriminate, without any regard for those of Muslim faith. The Sultāns usually neglected the religious divisions of the people. Compare K.K., 881 for instance, where 'Alā-ud-dīn spares the life of Muslim prisoners while he orders others to be trampled to death.

3 Compare for instance, the description of a new colony in Mukandrām. Gupta, Bengal, etc., pp. 91-92.

social distinction. People began to discover for themselves as far as possible a foreign ancestry.[1]

(B) The Hindu Society.

The distinctive feature of Hindu society was the system of castes and sub-castes, as it is even to-day.[2] A reference has already been made to the system of caste as a contributory factor in the establishment of the foreign Muslim rule. Let us make a note here of the fact that, as a result of Muslim impact, a number of old social and legal functions had passed outside the operation of caste rules. The position, and the legal and formal powers of the Brahman had undergone a considerable change with the fall of the old-time Kshatriyas or the ruling classes of Hinduism. On the other hand, with

---

[1] Compare I.G.I.; Vol. II, 329 for modern conditions in Muslim society of India :—After emphasizing the democratic nature of the teachings of Islām, the writer proceeds :—'In India, however, caste is in the air; its contagion has spread even to the Mohammedans, and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines. In both communities foreign descent forms the highest claim to social distinction; in both promotion cometh from the west. As the twice born Aryan is to the mass of Hindus, so is the Mohammedan of alleged Arab, Persian, Afghan, or Mughal origin to the rank and file of his co-religionists. And just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower, while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so within the higher ranks of the Mohammedans, a Sayyid will marry a Sheikh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return; and inter-marriage between the upper circle of *soi-disant* foreigners and the main body of Indian Mohammedans is generally reprobated, except in parts of the country where the aristocratic element is small and must arrange its marriages as best it can ..... the lower functional groups ..... are organized on the model of regular castes, with councils and officers which enforce the observance of caste rules by the time-honoured sanction of boycotting.' Compare also the estimate of Senart, 219; of Havell, History of Aryan rule, 162-163.

[2] Compare I.G.I.; Vol. I, 311 for a definition of caste :—'A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families, bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle; but within this circle, there are usually a number of smaller circles, each of which is also endogamous'. Again—(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, 307) the writer explains the development :—'The process by which the tribal divisions were split up may be seen at work in the present day. Under the attraction of the superior Hindu civilization and the teaching of vagrant Brahmans or ascetics, the upper classes separated themselves from the lower, initiated Hindu modes of life, assumed the status of a caste, were supplied with a mythical geneology by the Brāhmans and were recognized as an integral part of some Hindu community. The process was repeated until the lowest alone were left, and they were reduced to the condition of serf .....'

the elimination of the moral rivalry of the Kshatriyas, the authority and personal influence of Brahmans increased among the Hindu masses. This led to even more restrictions of caste rules and a wider caste jurisdiction in marriage and diet, and a few other spheres that were left to them.

It is difficult to give the exact number of castes which existed in the early Muslim period. Nicolo Conti puts the number of groups wherein 'no man of one creed will drink, eat or marry with those of others' at eighty-four.[1] The orthodox and popular tradition of Hindūstān counts thirty-six such castes which includes, besides the sub-castes of the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas, other separate occupational castes namely, those of brewers, goldsmiths, weavers, betel-leaf sellers, tin-workers, shepherds, milkmen, carpenters, smiths, *bhāts*, *ahīrs*, Kāyasthas, dyers, flower-sellers, calico-painters, barbers, oilmen, jugglers, mountebanks, musicians and still others.[2] This, however, does not exhaust the enumeration of the castes, for, in some cases, the fact of residing in a certain locality gave the features of a caste to a group of people[3]; in others the mutual contact of Hindus and Muslims led to the formation of separate and new castes.[4] Of the principal castes, numerous subdivisions began to develop the leading features of a distinct caste. As many as twenty sub-castes existed among the Rājputs alone.[5]

Below all these castes which might be classed comparatively as the higher castes of Hinduism, came the millions of 'Untouchables' who also divided into castes of their own. Though the phenomenon of untouchability was not so acute in the North as it was in the South, its existence, as well as the existence of the exclusive feeling of the upper classes towards Untouchables is undisputable.[6] This feature of Indian social life has by no means disappeared under the strain of modern conditions.[7]

---

[1] Compare Major, 16.

[2] Compare Malik Muhammad Jāisī P., 154, 413.

[3] Compare Gupta, 174-175 for the '*kulins*' of Bengal.

[4] Compare *ibid.*, 171-172 for the sub-castes of the Bengal Brahmans named *Sher khānī*, *Pīralī*, *Sreemantkhānīs*.

[5] A.A., II, 56-57.

[6] Compare Shah, 70, 114-115 for the stratagem Kabīr employed in forcing his initiation into the cult of Rāmānand and other references to 'defilement' in the Bījak of Kabīr. Compare Sircar, 126 for the meeting of Chaitanya with an 'untouchable' named Murārī who held two blades of grass between his teeth to mark his abject humiliation. When Chaitanya advanced towards him he stepped back shouting, 'Touch me not Lord, I am a sinner, my body is unworthy of touch'. Compare also the feeling of Malik Muhammad Jāisī, P. 362. For 'untouchability' in the Deccan, compare Barbosa, II, 60-70; Varthema, 142; *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, Mahuan's account, 343.

[7] Compare the remarks of the representative of Depressed classes at the plenary session of the Indian Round Table Conference, reported in the *Times*, London, December 1, 1931 :—'The depressed classes live a completely isolated life from the rest of the Hindus. The Hindu priest will not officiate at the house of an Untouchable, and will not allow him

A number of social and economic factors were operating to modify the rigidity of the caste system and to change the relative position and privileges of the old higher castes of Hinduism. Of these factors, one was the introduction of Islām into Hindūstān. The essentially proselytizing nature of the faith of Islām, and the professions of social equality and fraternity among its followers, opened its doors wide to receive the lower castes of Hindu society. Its offer had an additional force because it issued from those who ruled the destinies of India, and possessed unlimited resources. Some conspicuous examples of low class converts had already shown to the mass of Hindus how far a convert to Islām could climb the social ladder. Hinduism was thus faced with the ominous prospect of seeing its numbers being gradually absorbed into the growing fold of Islām. It tried to raise a bulwark against the rising tide by making certain concessions in reclaiming the higher classes back to Hinduism and to their old privileges.[1] For a time, it had nothing to offer the lower classes, who began to develop a new philosophy of life for themselves. A popular, liberal and catholic religion began to spread in Hindūstān, deriving its inspiration from more democratic creeds of foreign extraction. As against the older creeds of 'Deeds' and 'Knowledge' this new creed based itself on '*Bhakti*' or devotion of man to the Divine Being, and demolished, as it were, the whole view of life centring round caste and the *Āshrama*.[2] We are not concerned with the history of religious development in this place, but we should make a note of the reactions of this new creed of *Bhakti* on the system of caste and social behaviour. In this respect, the followers of the new creed were given the name of *avadhūtas*, or 'emancipated', by an early teacher of the faith which signified their comparative freedom from the bonds of ancient prejudices.[3] In other respects, the alterations in the

---

to enter his temple. The Hindu barber will not shave him. The Hindu washerman will not wash his clothes. The Hindu will not eat with him much less inter-marry with him. We can conceive no greater social separation between any two communities than that which exists between the touchable and untouchable Hindus.'

[1] Compare Gupta, Aspects of Bengali society, *J.D.L.*, 170, about the new reformist outlook in Bengal. It was laid down that if a Brahman was forcibly converted to Islām, he may be taken back into the bosom of the Hindu society by performing appropriate expiatory ceremonies, for, as the reformers discovered, 'the fire of Brahmanical spirit burns in a Brahman up to six generations'.

[2] Compare the view of Chaitanya, Sircar, 98.

[3] Compare Carpenter, 428. Compare Sircar, 212 for the instance of a follower of Chaitanya dining with others irrespective of caste rules. Compare *ibid.*, 317 for the story of Subudhi Ray whose caste had been destroyed by the reigning Sultān of Bengal through pouring the water of his own goblet down his throat. The orthodox Brahmans of Benares counselled 'the ordeal of steaming *ghee*'. When Subudhi came to Chaitanya, the latter only asked him to chant the name of Krishna 'as one utterance of the Name would wash away all his sins'.

economic position of the various classes went a long way to modify the social position of the erstwhile higher and privileged classes. Under the new conditions of life, the Brahmans, whose erstwhile privileges and occupations did not equip them for any socially useful vocation were in a very unenviable position.[1] Some of them qualified as physicians and astrologers, and managed to earn a living, but on the whole they lived in a miserable plight, unless they migrated to the kingdom of a Hindu chief where the old order existed in some sort of vigour. The lower classes of Hindus, on the other hand, who lived under the Sultanat were no longer hampered by the old restrictions, even when they did not accept the new faith of Islām; in some cases they made notable material progress which reacted on their status in Hindu society.[2] However, as we have remarked, the introduction of Islām was not a fundamental revolution in the basic conditions of Indian life. It effected a change in classes and in their relative position, but did not uproot the institution. In fact, Islām also succumbed to the spirit of class division, and forgot all about the message of the Qur'ān.

---

[1] Compare Sircar, 317 for the employment of Brahmans as cooks; compare Barbosa, II, 37 for Brahmans employed as couriers. Compare Sircar, 201, how even when they were employed as cooks it was not because of their excellence in cooking but because it was 'fit to be eaten' by the orthodox Hindus.

[2] Compare *ibid.*, 317 how Rāmānand Ray, originally a low caste, came to meet Chaitanya on the Godāvarī in a luxurious litter, attended by music and followed by Vaidic Brahmans in his train.

PART II. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Rural Life.

General remarks :—India is an essentially agricultural country even to-day and its economic structure is very different from an industrial country.[1] In India, the source of production is land, its power, the ploughing animal, and its implements, the wooden plough, the toothed harrow, the smoothing board, the levelling beam, the sowing drill and a few others, for instance the pick and the hoe, various contrivances for raising water, a few mattocks, spades and rakes. The proportion of land which is irrigated by canals is still not very large and the crops usually depend on the favourable monsoons at the appropriate seasons.[2] There are no violent dislocations of economic life except for periodical famines, a locust pest or, as it used to be in olden times, a band of invaders. When these epidemics have passed, life in the countryside resumes its normal activity. The life is essentially stereotyped and unprogressive, but extremely simple and continuous. Usually a whole community of people claiming a common descent and bound by a number of common social and religious ties, inhabits a number of adjoining villages. The village is usually composed of a number of such communities (or '*barādarīs*', 'brotherhoods'). Given favourable monsoons and not too exacting an administration, the Indian peasant as a rule feels quite satisfied with his lot. He meets the ordinary demands of his everyday life with a cheerful heart and goes about his vocation with a feeling not very different from happiness and contentment. Under these conditions, if he finds suitable opportunity, he confers one of his many children in marriage and invites to the celebration practically all his community and friends, as far as his means permit him. In his leisure hours he sings his popular ballads and folk songs on the common village courtyard (*chowpāl*). The younger ones gather round in another corner and recite their favourite ghost stories and other lore. Under unfavourable conditions, the peasants, and particularly the women folk, resort more frequently to their gods, deities and the spirits of their forefathers and popular

---

[1] Compare Indian Year Book, 1931, p. 29 for the present classification of occupations :—'If we add the pastoral and hunting occupations, the percentage (of agricultural population) rises to 73, while a considerable portion of the unfortunately large number of persons in the category of vague and unclassifiable occupations are probably labourers closely connected with the occupations of the land'.

[2] The irrigated area was 12·1% of the total cropped area in 1931 (*vide* I.Y.B., 1931).

saints and in response to their prayers and offerings watch eagerly for clouds with a tearful eye. In the worst extremities of life they are reconciled to the irresistible workings of fate (*kismet*) and take misfortunes and disaster with a superhuman calmness and passive resignation. Life has very few good things to offer to stimulate their desires or promise their fulfilment. This has been the basis of Indian agricultural life for unknown centuries in Hindūstān.

The attitudes of mind and modes of thought that have grown out of these conditions have moulded the life of an Indian village community. We have referred to its political aspect in an earlier chapter. Economically speaking, the village is a self-sufficient unit with an organic and well developed economic structure, if by organic life we mean the team work of a community to supply the needs and to fulfil the desires of its members. In fact, if an Indian village community be isolated physically from the rest of the world (as it is psychologically, in most cases) its economic organization would remain more or less unaffected. The leading feature of an Indian village community is a harmonious co-ordination of the specialized functions of its various component groups of workers. Everyone has his special function assigned to him ; in fact, he is also born and brought up to it. For instance, of the various social groups, the husbandman takes to the tilling and the harvesting of crops which provide food for all the members of a village community. The rest of the members contribute to the productive process in a subsidiary manner. The women folk lend a hand in the various forms of farm labour, and look after animals and stock. The carpenters employ themselves in making and mending ploughs and other implements, the cultivator supplying them with wood. The blacksmiths supply the iron parts of the implements and repair them when necessary. The potters supply the household utensils. The cobblers make and mend the plough harness and shoes. In fact, everyone has his contribution to make, the washerman, the barber, the cowherd, the milkman, the water-carrier, the scavenger, even the beggar, the priest, the astrologer and the popular doctor and magician. Again, the produce of the field feeds a number of rural industries for instance, the making of ropes and baskets and the manufacture of sugar, scents, oils, etc. It finds occupation for a number of crafts namely, those of weavers, leather-workers, dyers, woodworkers and calico-painters. A group of people is set apart for the exchange of village produce. In one quarter of an Indian village, one comes across a tiny market where grain, cloth, sweetmeats, and other necessities of life are sold by petty shopkeepers. There is sometimes even a money-changer in a corner of the village market who changes coppers and cowries for silver and makes a small fortune in the process of conversion. Sometimes, the services of the local goldsmith come to his aid

in testing the purity of the metal of a coin. The periodical fairs serve for bigger exchanges of commodities and for the supply of what one might call the luxuries of peasants, e.g. copper and mixed metal utensils, lead and tinsel ornaments, children's toys, etc. The Indian village is not without its local politicians and even statesmen. The *chowpāl* is full of discussions about individual quarrels and questions of caste behaviour. Somebody is even deeply thinking of the dangers of commercial wealth of village shopkeepers and expounds his political theories with all the pretensions of a Demosthenes.[1] But outside their particular village or a group of neighbouring villages, the rest of the world is one big mystery for them. This has been the structure of an Indian village in Hindūstān, though signs of its decay are fast approaching under the strain of new economic forces.[2]

In the period under review, the village community was a working institution in full vigour, and determined the economic outlook of the vast majority of the population of Hindūstān. Its leading economic feature was production mainly for purposes of local consumption. Industries on a large scale were carried on in a few localized areas which were as a rule situated at the mouth of certain navigable rivers through which raw materials could be imported with facility, or else in close vicinity to an area where raw material was available in sufficient quantities to feed them. Apart from a very few inland centres of other provinces, Bengal and Gujarāt, because of their shipping facilities, were the chief industrial provinces which worked certain industries, collected the surplus of finished products from the inland centres of other provinces and exported them abroad. In this manner, while the vast majority occupied itself with agricultural pursuits, a small proportion engaged in trade and industry, and a few rich people lived on commerce with foreign nations.[3] This gave rise to a little urban life in a few big towns which also served as the seat of local or provincial administration. The towns were usually walled and protected and also served as centres of refuge to the neighbouring populace in times of danger and insecurity. In times of peace, they served as centres of distribution of agricultural produce and industrial goods. In general we might say that though the towns led the country in social and intellectual culture, they were not of sufficient eco-

---

1 Compare I.K., III, 49; compare Gupta, Bengal, etc., 158 for the remarks of an old Bengalī poet and writer on the wealth of the village petty shopkeepers:—'They sell and buy and in the process they draw to themselves the wealth of the people'.

2 Compare a description of a village organization in I.G.I.; IV, 280-281; also Gupta, Bengal, etc., 163.

3 Compare, the observations of Mahuan in Bengal. *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 530.

nomic importance to modify the economic outlook of the people as a whole.[1]

An important factor in the economic life of the people was the administrative machinery. It shared the fruits of the peasant labour and employed industrial labour on a small scale. In its turn, it gave some sort of security for the peaceful pursuit of agricultural vocations and incidentally gave certain facilities for the transport of goods from one part of the country to another. On the whole, any big improvement in the method of production, a more equitable distribution of the economic wealth or a better adjustment of the economic position of the various social classes, was outside the policy of the State. On the other hand, as has been shown above, the State was interested in perpetuating the low standard of economic life of the masses of the people. The economic framework of society worked as best it could within the limits of its productive capacity. It involved division into classes, disparity of incomes and a general degradation of the status of the productive labourer, but all these social factors had been adjusted into the system, over which a structure of culture and artistic developments was raised which still endears itself to all sorts of social dreamers and political philosophers. There was no economic revolution, for none was wanted. The land was almost limitless in potential wealth and resources and equally vast in extent which set serious limits to administrative exactions and to the domination of the ruling classes as a whole. Finally, there was no fixed standard of comfort, a fact which made matters easier for the ruling classes.

1. *The produce of the land.*—Nearly all cultivation was done on land which furnished food for men and fodder for animals.[2] It is difficult to speak of the size of an average holding or even of the proportion of the population which took to active husbandry. We can roughly state that leaving aside those who were engaged in domestic labour and crafts, all others took to cultivation on land. There are no detailed references to the system of cultivation then in vogue, but probably it was not very different from the present system.[3] The agricultural

---

[1] Compare the Indian Year Book (1931), p. 22 for the ratio of 10·2 : 89·8 between the urban and the rural population of India. 'The progress of urbanization in India—if there has been any progress at all—has been very slow during the past thirty years, the whole increase being less than one per cent., p. 21, *ibid.*

[2] Compare A.A., I, 79-80; *ibid.*, II, 6, for the crops of *singhāra*, *sālak*, *khus*, *kaserū*, which are grown on the surface of water and probably existed before Akbar, as they did under him, but their proportion to land crops was negligible.

[3] Compare K.K., 709, where Amīr Khusrau, beyond praising the skill and ingenuity of Indian peasants in general terms, gives no details. Compare K.R., II, 145, for the employment of Persian water-wheels on the Meghna in Bengal. Compare for a parallel the use of Persian water-

produce of the country as a whole could not have been very different from what it is to-day except for the newly introduced cultivation of tobacco, tea, coffee and the extension of jute crop and the like. It appears, however, that medicinal herbs, spices and fragrant wood were grown in larger quantities, and found a market in and outside India. Pulses, wheat, barley, millet, peas, rice, sesame and oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton were the chief crops.[1] The area round about Kara and Mānikpur (near Allāhābād) was considered to be exceptionally fertile and grew good quality rice, sugarcane, and wheat which were exported to Delhi in great quantities.[2] As a result of canal irrigation introduced under Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, the area round Hissār and Fīrūzābād added to the existing cultivation of sesame and pulses the culture of wheat and sugarcane.[3] Among other improved crops, the rice of Sirsutī was reputed for quality and found a ready market in Delhi.[4] The usual method of storing the stock of grain was in grain-pits or *khattees* which preserved the grain for a very long time.[5]

Among the fruits of the Gangetic plains, the mango was especially popular. The mango was easily the best of all fruits, even preferable to the melons of Islāmic countries.[6] This, however, is a delicate point, for Bābur never forgets the melons

---

wheels in Samarqand in the 13th century. Britschneider, I, 76; compare their use in Oudh (mentioned by Malik Muhammad Jāisī) under the name of *Rahat*, P., 52. Compare Bābur's account in B.N., 249-50, for a more systematic survey. He refers to the use of Persian wheels in Lahore, Dīpālpur, Sirhind and thereabout; the use of large leather buckets (*pur*) drawn by a pair of bullocks in Āgra, and Bayāna; and the use of what is now called a '*Dhenklī*' for a constant supply of water. For a description of *dhenklī* see I.G.I., XXI, 125-6. Compare also Macauliffe, I, 22, for similar arrangements in other parts of Hindūstān.

[1] Compare, in connection with the growth of cotton, the cultivation of a kind of giant cotton plant (*Deva kapās*) growing full six paces in height and attaining an age of twenty years. Up to twelve years, the tree grew good spinning cotton. *Vide* Yule, II, 393, and note. For the introduction of smoking under Akbar, the Memoirs (*waqāi'*) of Asad Khan, composed under Jahāngīr.

[2] K.R., II, 24. [3] B., 568. [4] K.R., II, 14.

[5] I.K., V, [illegible]. For a description of *Khattee*, compare Tod, III, 1563:—'These pits or trenches are fixed on elevated dry spots, their size being according to the nature of the soil. All the preparations they undergo are the incineration of certain vegetable substances and lining the sides and bottom with wheat or barley stubble. The grain is then deposited in the pit, covered over with straw, and a terrace of earth, about eighteen inches in height, and projecting in front beyond the orifice of the pit, is raised over it. This is secured with a coating of clay and cow-dung which resists even the monsoon and is renewed as the torrents injure it. Thus the grain may remain for years without injury while the heat which is extricated checks germination, and deters rats and white ants.' *Masālik-ul-absār*, however, notes that the colour of the grain underwent a change through long storage.

[6] Compare the estimate of Amīr Khusrau, Q.S., 166-7. Compare W.M., 74 for an interesting discovery of the Tradition of the Prophet in support of the superiority of the mango.

of his country when he goes about Hindūstān. In fact, he had some of the best musk melon plants of Kābul brought to India and planted in his garden at Āgra.[1] Even some time after Bābur, the cultivation of these melons was not extensive in Hindūstān.[2] Among other fruits we may note the growth of a variety of grapes, dates, pomegranates, plantains, Indian melons, peaches, apples, oranges, grape-fruit, figs, lemons, *karna*, *jhong*, *khirnee*, *jāman*, jack-fruits and numerous others.[3] Cocoanuts were abundant on the coasts.

The Sultāns of Delhi and other rulers appear to have taken pains to improve the quality of Indian fruits and the system of gardening as a whole. Fīrūz Tughluq carried out a big programme of laying gardens, which led to a general improvement in the quality of most of the fruits mentioned above.[4] According to his chronicler, he laid out 1,200 gardens in the neighbourhood and in the suburbs of Delhi, eighty on the Salora embankment, and forty-four in Chitor.[5] Rājputāna maintained and even extended this tradition of laying gardens. Apart from Chitor, Dholpur, Gwalior, and Jodhpur, other places also took up the improved methods of fruit cultivation and gardening. In Dholpur especially, gardens shaded the route to the city for a distance of seven krohs (about 14 miles).[6] Special attention was paid to the culture of pomegranates in Jodhpur, and the Lodī Sultān, Sikandar confidently declared that Persia could not produce pomegranates which would compare favourably with the Jodhpur variety in flavour.[7]

The culture of flowers is of very ancient date in Hindūstān. They have been remarkable for their charm, smell and variety. A number of them like the *Tulsī* and the marigold have become partly sacred, being associated with many religious worships and offerings. The gift of flowers was a common courtesy among the Hindus. Important social occasions and domestic ceremonies were always accompanied with offers of flowers and flower-garlands. For instance, it was difficult to imagine a newly wedded couple or their bed without wreaths of flowers. Whole chapters of their books have been devoted by Amīr Khusrau and Malik Muhammad Jāisī to the description of flowers of the

---

[1] B.N., 357.

[2] Compare the account of Hājī Dabīr who was provided with some melons in Delhi, but they were obviously not indigenous. Z.W., II, 770.

[3] Compare the account of Baranī and 'Afīf, B., 569-70, A., 128, in addition to Amīr Khusrau in Q.S., 166-7.

[4] Compare also A., 295-6, for these improved varieties, especially seven different varieties of grapes.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Compare the fruits of Chitor in the time of Malik Muhammad Jāisī. P., 419-20; compare T.A., I, 324, for the destruction of Jodhpur gardens by the soldiers of Sikandar Lodī.

[7] Compare the account of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, f. 45. Compare Amīr Khusrau's description of a 'smiling pomegranate' in *I.K.*, IV, 330.

land. We will revert to flowers at the close of our paper. It is worth while remembering in this connection that Bābur did not make any improvement in the quality or the variety of Indian flowers in his kingdom, beyond introducing a variety of rose from Gwalior into his garden at Āgra.[1]

Reference in this connection may be made to fragrant woods, for instance, sandal-wood and aloes, which were grown in Hindūstān. Assam was specially reputed for a particular quality of aloe-wood which was sent as an offering to some of the most famous temples in the land. Bughrā Khān did not forget to include some of this wood among his gifts to his son, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād.[2] Similarly certain medicinal herbs used as antidotes for poisons and for snake-bites, were grown in the country.[3] Among spices, pepper and ginger and other spices were grown in some parts of Gujarāt in large quantities.[4]

An enumeration of domestic and wild animals and fowl is difficult, for their number is legion. In the absence of the present land communications and the measures of security which have led to the elimination of considerable numbers of wild animals, it is easy to picture the old landscape full of wild and domesticated animals. Outside Africa and Australia, India is still one of the few countries which possess a great variety of wild animals. Among the species which have now become rare, if not extinct, were the rhinoceros, a variety of hunting falcons and the lion.

2. *Village Manufactures and Cottage Industries.*—On the basis of agricultural produce, a number of crafts and industries were carried on on a small scale in the village. The labour employed on these industries was hereditary; the implements and the method of work were both crude and the output meagre. But through generations of exclusive employment and inherited traditions of efficiency and skill, the quality of the products was excellent and their artistic value great. The social status and the limited opportunities of village craftsmen discouraged them from making progress beyond certain limits. Moreover, they were not adequately protected against administrative oppression.[5] The introduction of Muslim craftsmen may have done something towards removing the social disabilities of the class as a whole, but in the long run Muslim influence succumbed to the older

---

[1] Compare T.F., I, 391.
[2] Q.S., 101.
[3] For instance 'Mukhlisa', E.D., II, 239.
[4] Compare Yule, II, 393.
[5] Compare Amīr Khusrau I.K., II, 19-20, for oppressive regulations [illegible] of manufacturers of Delhi; compare also Gupta, Bengal, etc. 158, for the position of betel-leaf sellers in the colony of Bīr in Bengal who in case of oppression [illegible] not offer any resistance beyond a wail of despair, '*duhāī*.'

traditions. When Bābur came to Hindūstān no appreciable modification in the social character of these vocations was visible, for he finds all the craftsmen organized in rigid and exclusive castes.[1]

The more important manufactures based on agricultural produce were those of unrefined sugar, scents and spirits. We will refer to sugar later on. Scents and scented waters were manufactured where facilities existed for the development of the industry. A whole class of scent merchants, for instance, existed in Bengal and were known as *Gandha Bāniks*.[2] Rose-water was commonly used to sprinkle on friendly gatherings and social parties for its cooling and refreshing effect. Among other scents, Malik Muhammad Jāisī makes a particular mention of two strong scents or ottos named *Maidu* and *Chuvāi*, but their specific variety is not clear.[3]

The manufacture of spirits and liquors is very old in Hindūstān. In very ancient days beers were manufactured from unrefined sugar, *mahwa*, barley cakes and rice.[4] To this Amīr Khusrau also adds the use of sugarcane in the manufacture of drinks.[5] Other varieties were made out of Indian date-palm and cocoanut juice.[6] In Bengal, where facilities for the manufacture of practically all varieties of strong drinks existed, spirits were openly sold in the markets.[7]

Among other important manufactures, mention may be made of a variety of oils, which were manufactured through the familiar process of the oil-press (*ghān*) still in use at the present day.[8]

Among home industries, the most important were those of the weaving and spinning of cotton. The various processes of weaving and spinning were the same as are employed in Indian

---

1 Compare also P., 19; Macauliffe, I, 284; K.K., 740.

2 Gupta, Bengal, etc. 163.

3 P. (hin) 143; compare also T.M. (II), 124, for a present of an elephant load of white and red flowers and of a variety of scents 'the smell of which looked down upon the gardens of paradise' which Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak presented to Muhammad bin Sām of Ghūr.

4 Compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, J. C. Ray—'Hindu method of manufac- [illegible]

6 Compare Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 541; also Vambery 29. For the variety manufactured from *Mahua* (Bassia Latifolia) compare Ibn Batūta K.R., II, 11 who compares it to the taste of dates 'dried in the sun'. Compare Bābur who finds this drink distasteful. B.N., 26. For its strong intoxicating effect see P., 329. Bābur considers the drink manufactured from the palm 'on the whole, good stuff' and the other variety from cocoanut, quite strong and nice. B.N., 262. Nicolo Conti speaks of a cheap beer made of ground rice and mixed with water and some 'redde coloure' all tempered with the juice of 'Tall' tree. Frampton, 137.

7 Compare Mahuan *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 531.

8 Compare Gupta, Bengal, etc. 158.

villages to-day.[1] The finished piece of cloth was sold by the piece and even by weight for cash payment or in return for other goods. Other minor industries included cap-making, shoe-making and the making of arms of all kinds, especially bows and arrows. The better class of bow-makers used silk for bow-strings, cane for the arrows and steel for arrow-heads. The blacksmiths had a fairly busy time. The process of smelting iron-ore was widely understood by blacksmiths. Besides various agricultural implements and arms of iron, locks, keys, and razors were articles of common use in Indian homes.[2] Goldsmiths and silversmiths had attained even greater skill in their work, to which reference will be made later. '*Jarāū*' or inlay work had become very popular and all classes of women, rich and poor, were fond of using ornaments with inlay-work.[3] A class of craftsmen in Bengal also worked conch-shell into various ornaments. Brass-workers similarly, employed themselves in making jugs, cups, large plates of brass, cooking and other vessels, bells, idols, lamp-stands, betel-leaf boxes, etc.[4] There was even a class of drum-makers and makers of other musical instruments.[5] Other modest industries consisted of the making of ropes and baskets, earthen pots, leather-buckets, fans, etc. etc.

3. *Standard of economic life.*—To complete the discussion of rural life, a word may be added as to the standard of economic life in the villages. Of the produce of land, a large share went to the state, in the form of the land-tax and various perquisites. Of the remainder, a customary share was fixed for various classes of domestic and other labourers. The peasant and his family kept the rest for their own use, gradually consuming the produce, and making special use of it on the great occasions of domestic life, namely, at birth, marriage and funeral celebrations. A certain proportion went to the share of the priest and the temple, and the rest was consumed by the peasant and his stock of domestic animals. In a certain sense the menial and domestic labourers, foı instance the carpenter, the smith, the potter, the washerman, the scavenger, etc. were better off, for no animals and not many respectable priests encumbered their lives. Their despised isolation gave them some sort of security against external interference. Like the peasants they also spent their meagre resources on domestic

---

[1] Compare two very interesting descriptions of the processes given by Kabīr, who was the son of a weaver (*vide* Shah, 125, 169, 102) and Lalla of Ḳashmīr (*vide* Temple, 225).

[2] Compare I.K., IV, 47-9; B., 365; K.K., 744, 749.

[3] Compare *Akharāwat*, 25-6, for the fondness of poor women-folk for *Jarāū* work; also G., 13, where A. S. Beveridge considers '*Jarāū*' as '*Jawāhir*' or jewels. The term is used even at the present day in the original sense of inlay-work.

[4] Compare Gupta, Bengal, etc. 162-3.

[5] *Ibid.*, 158.

ceremonies and the upkeep of family customs, and lived on a bare pittance, usually indebted to the local money-lender like all other producing classes.[1]

It is difficult to convert the possible grain surplus of the peasant or of other labourers in the village into a cash money-value, for the sake of comparison with other classes whose standards of income will be discussed later. As compared with them, the peasant usually worked hard and unceasingly, almost day and night during certain seasons of the year. His exacting labour was shared by his wife and other members of the family.[2] In return for all this labour he was lucky if he could obtain a square meal every day. There are very few and very vague references to the life of the peasants, but it can be asserted with confidence that their lot was very miserable and they lived constantly in a state of semi-starvation.[3] When you have said that people go nearly naked you have practically exhausted the topic of clothing and you can write little about furniture when the possessions of a family are limited to a couple of bedsteads and a scanty supply of cooking vessels.[4] We shall refer to the subject again in a later part.

Industries and Commerce.

I. Industries.

There is ample evidence to show that many industries of considerable importance were developed in Hindūstān during this period, the more important of them being textiles, metal-work, stone-work, sugar, indigo, and paper. A portion of the luxuries for the upper classes was supplied from outside. There were no factories or large-scale industrial enterprises in the modern sense of the term. Usually, the producers of a commodity in small towns arranged with dealers of those goods in a big city to supply them with finished goods for distribution inland or for export outside. Sometimes the producers also disposed of their stock at the periodical fairs. The large scale exporters of goods, usually living in coastal towns also arranged directly with the manufacturers or through their agents, for the purchase and supply of finished goods. In some places enterprising business men engaged a number of craftsmen to manufacture articles under their own supervision. Of such organizations or factories, the best equipped and most efficiently

---

[1] Compare Gupta, Bengal, etc. 189, for a reference to money-lenders.

[2] For woman's share in the rural labour, Shah, 87, 170.

[3] Compare an extreme case mentioned by Mukandrām where the co-wife of a fowler lives on rice soup and stale curry and sleeps on a straw bed. *Vide J.D.L.*, 1929, 223.

[4] Moreland, India, etc. 255. Compare also Amīr Khusrau's opinion in K.K., 204-5, where he frankly declares that 'every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallized drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant'.

organized were those of the Sultāns of Delhi, or, at a later date, of the various minor rulers in provinces also. These factories were known as *Kārkhānas* or work-shop and have been referred to earlier. The royal factories at Delhi sometimes employed as many as 4,000 weavers of silk alone besides manufacturers of other kinds of goods for the royal supply.

Some idea of the royal demand may be gathered from the fact that Muhammad Tughluq used to distribute 200,000 complete robes of honour twice every year, in the spring and the autumn; those of the spring consisted chiefly of goods manufactured at Alexandria, while those of the autumn were made of goods partly manufactured at Delhi and partly imported from China and 'Irāq. Similarly, Muhammad Tughluq employed no less than 4,000 manufacturers of golden tissues for brocades used by ladies of the royal *haram* or given away in presents to *amīrs* and their wives. Practically every article of royal use, for instance caps, shoes, curtains, tapestry, waist-bands, sashes, embroideries, saddles, etc. was supplied by these *Kārkhānas*.[1] The Kārkhānas similarly manufactured vast stores of fine muslins and other goods for gifts and presents to other monarchs in return for similar gifts from them.[2] We have no record of the wages of the workmen who were employed in these royal establishments until we come to the time of Akbar. On the whole the State left the manufacture and distribution of all manufactured goods free of State control. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī alone of all the Sultāns of Delhi made a bold attempt to control the market of Delhi but his reasons were administrative and political rather than economic and do not help us to elucidate the various aspects of the industrial situation in the country.

1. *Textiles.*—The manufacture of textiles was the biggest industry of Hindūstān. It included the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen cloth, and silks. Cotton was extensively grown in the country. Wool could always be procured from mountainous tracts, though sheep were also reared in the plains. The finer qualities of woollen stuffs and furs were largely imported from outside and were almost exclusively worn by the aristocracy. Silk-worms were reared in Bengal,[3] though it is not

---

[1] Compare the account of *Masālik-ul-abṣār*. E.D., III, 578; and Notices, etc. I have followed the figures of the French version.

[2] Compare for instance the stores of Māndū. T.I., 247; and the account of the embassy of Ibn Batūta to China for fine cloth.

[3] Compare the account of Mahuan. *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 532. Compare I.G.I., IV, 206-7, on the history of the silk industry in India :—'It is probably correct that the most ancient references to silk by Sanskrit authors denote one or other of the non-domesticated worms and not the true silk-worm of modern commerce. All the passages that speak of the mulberry-worm in early Hindu literature refer to an imported and not a locally produced silk. Neither this worm nor the plant on which it feeds has ever been found in indigenous condition in India—certainly never

clear if they were the true silk-worms (i.e. the mulberry-eating insect). In any case a greater supply of silk yarn was imported. The allied industries of embroidery, gold thread work and dyeing, were also carried on in many big cities of Hindūstān. On the whole the quality of Indian textile products was excellent, and the output was sufficient to meet the demands of internal consumption. Bengal and Gujarāt also exported very large quantities of cotton and other goods to various countries. The manufacture of fine stuffs was limited to the demands of a small class of well-to-do people. The poorer classes, as has been explained in the previous part, used the products of their own looms and only bought fine cloth for certain festivals and for marriages and other social occasions.

The stuffs worn by the rich usually consisted of a variety of silks, fine muslins, fine linen, brocade, satin and a variety of furs—beaver, ermine, marten, sable.[1] In cold weather while the rich used furs and fine wool, the poor wore stuffed cotton and a variety of rough blankets. The manufacture of fine cloth had attained an unusual degree of excellence. Of this we have many poetic and fanciful descriptions from the pen of Amīr Khusrau who in spite of his enthusiastic exaggerations of language, reveals to us a great deal of refinement and skill among the workers.[2] Deogīr and Mahādeva-nagarī in the Deccan were famous centres of cloth manufacture and gave their names to the cloth of their make which was considered to be of exceptional fineness and beauty.[3] Of the other well-known varieties of fine cloth, we read the names of *Bairāmia*, *Salāhiya*, *Shīrīn*, *Kattān-i-Rūmī*, *Siraj*, *Qibāb*, to mention only a few, though their precise nature is not clear. Probably these designations carry local and particular associations which it is

---

in the parts of India where seri-culture exists.' The introduction of silk-worms in Bengal may be due to Chinese influence like the introduction of Chinese paper, which will be described presently.

[1] Compare the description of Khusrau. Q.S., 32-3: compare also B., 311, for the prohibitions of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī which were designed to control the needs of the nobles and extended to the sale of brocade and gold-cloth, the finer silks of Delhi and Khambāyat (or Cambay), the *Shustarī*, the *Bhīrāin*, the *Deogīrī* and certain other varieties of cloth.

[2] Compare for instance his description of Bengal muslin in one place: it was so fine and light that a hundred yards of this muslin could be wrapt round the head and one could still see the hair underneath. *Vide* Q.S., 32-3. In another place he compares the cloth of Deogīr with its richly coloured pieces to 'tulips of the hills and roses of the garden'. In one place he compares the *Deogīrī* cloth to a drop of water in fineness and transparence. A hundred yards of this cloth could pass through the eye of a needle and yet it was so strong that the needle could not pierce through it. A person, according to Khusrau, wearing this cloth looked like one uncovered, 'only smeared with pure water'. The author thinks that *Deogīrī* cloth was good enough to tempt a fairy and was incomparably better than silk and brocade. (*Vide* K.F., 11, K.K., 867 and Add. 25,807, folio 459.)

[3] Compare *ibid.*, K.F., 11.

not easy to unravel at present. Delhi was a great centre in the North, but it is not clear if its fame was due to its being a market of fine goods or because of their manufacture. The price of a complete piece of fine muslin of exceptional excellence went up to 100 Tankas.[1] There was a large stock of fine muslin, silk and brocade in Delhi and probably also in other large towns.[2]

Bengal and Gujarāt led the whole of Hindūstān in the manufacture and export of textile goods. The harbour facilities of these provinces and their commercial relations with the outside world helped them in building up an extensive textile industry.

The accounts of Amīr Khusrau, Mahuan, Varthema, and Barbosa all bear witness to the excellence of Bengal manufactures. Amīr Khusrau is warm in the praise of stuffs which Bughrā Khān, the governor of Bengal, presented to his son Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād.[3] Mahuan, on his visit to Bengal, enumerates five or six varieties of fine muslins, gold embroidered caps and silk handkerchiefs.[4] The accounts of Varthema and Barbosa are in substantial agreement, only the former finds more abundance of cotton cloth in Bengal than anywhere else in the world. He mentions a variety of fine cloth named *Bairam*, *Namone*, *Lizati*, *Caintar*, *Douzar*, *Sinabaff*, the nature of which is not clear. Barbosa observes that a kind of sash named *Sirband*, made in Bengal, was much esteemed by Europeans for the head-dress of ladies, and by Persians and Arab merchants for use as turbans. Arab merchants were similarly fond of using Bengal *Sinabaffs* for shirts.[5] Among articles of internal consumption, *dhotīs* and *sārīs*, both of silk and cotton, were manufactured in large quantities.[6]

---

[1] Compare Ibn Batūta. K.R., II, 90-1.

[2] Compare for instance Malfūzāt, 289, where Tīmūr notes with satisfaction that among other goods he collected silk and brocade in the sack of Delhi past 'all estimate, number, limit or calculation'.

[3] Compare Q.S., 100-1, where Khusrau describes a piece of cloth the texture of which was so fine that the body was visible through it. One could fold a whole piece of this cloth inside one's nail; yet it was large enough to cover the world when unfolded.

[4] Compare *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 531-2.

[5] For the account of Varthema, 212, for Barbosa, Vol. II, 145.

[6] Mr. Gupta gives an interesting account of *dhotī* and *sārī* manufactures in Bengal in *J.D.L.*, 1929, 224–231. He tells us for instance, that four distinct varieties of silk *sārīs* were made, namely *Kala Pat Sadi*, *Agun Pat Sadi*, *Pater Bhumi* and *Kanchi Pat Sadi*. Among other varieties of silks he mentions *Neta*, *Tasar* and *Pater Pachhda*. He gives numerous descriptions of the designs and texture of the *sārīs*. Similarly he mentions a variety of cotton and silk *dhotīs*. The early muslins of Bengal, he tells us, were usually made with a mixture of silk and cotton and were tastefully embroidered. Their descriptive names and the large variety of their range suggests a very advanced stage of refinement. It is, however, difficult to fix the exact period to which his account applies. Gupta in his 'Bengal in the Sixteenth Century' informs us that hundreds of pieces of *dhotīs* were manufactured in the small colony of Bīr in Bengal, which indicates the extensive output of cloth.

Gujarāt was similarly rich in the manufacture of cloth. The silks of Cambay (Khambāyat) were among the costly goods which were controlled by Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in Delhi. Their use was confined to the great nobles.[1] Barbosa tells us that Cambay was the centre of manufacture for all kinds of fine and coarse and printed cotton cloth, besides other cheap varieties of velvets, satins, taffetas and thick carpets. Varieties of printed cloth and 'silk muslins' were also manufactured in other parts of Gujarāt.[2]

Apart from the manufacture of cloth, other miscellaneous goods, carpets, cushions, coverlets, beddings (duries), prayer-carpets, bed-strings and several other articles were also manufactured.

Mention may well be made here of the dyeing industry of Hindūstān. The land was rich in indigo, and the people, irrespective of sex or age, were fond of bright colours. Various accounts refer to *sārīs* with dyed borders and to other silks and muslins with many coloured stripes. Thus the dyeing industry and calico-painting went hand in hand with the manufacture of cloth. Barbosa and Varthema both refer to 'painted cloth'. The former also speaks of 'quilts and testers of beds finely worked and painted', and quilted articles of dress.[3]

2. *Metal-work.*—Next in importance to textiles were a number of industries based on metal-work. Metal-work has a very old tradition in India, to which many ancient idols and the Delhi pillar bear witness. It is only during the last century that the position of the Indian metal workers has changed so completely.[4] Iron, mercury and lead mines existed in India and were worked to a certain degree, though the output does not appear to be very considerable.[5] Abu'l Fazl definitely states that Indian metal workers fully understood how to handle

---

[1] Compare B., 311. Compare also the opinion of Varthema, who estimates that Khambāyat (or Cambay) contributed about half the total textile exports of India. We shall speak of it presently in connection with foreign trade.

[2] Compare Barbosa, I, 141, 154-155.

[3] *Ibid.*, 142.

[4] Compare I.G.I., IV, 128 on the decline of chemical industries :—'In this respect India of to-day stands in contrast to the India of a century ago. The high quality of the native-made iron, the early anticipation of the process now employed in Europe for the manufacture of high-class steels and the artistic products in copper and brass gave the country a prominent position in the ancient metallurgical world, while as a chief source of nitre India held a position of peculiar political importance until, less than forty years ago, the chemical manufacturer of Europe found, among his by-products, cheaper and more effective compounds for the manufacture of explosives.'

[5] Compare the opinion of *Masālik-ul-absār.* Notices, etc. 166-7. Compare Tod, I, 321, on the discovery of tin (probably lead and zinc mines as explained by I.G.I., 'Rājputāna') and silver mines in Jāwara (Mewār) at the close of the fourteenth century.

various metals, namely iron, brass, silver, zinc (*kānsī*), mixed metal (*hasht-dhāt*) and mica (*kol-pattar*).[1] The industry of sword-making was well established even in very ancient times, so that the Indian sword and dagger have passed into the classical terminology of Arabic and Persian. Under the Sultāns of Delhi the art of manufacturing fine steel was by no means dead; in fact, all conditions point to a greater stimulus and increased activity in this direction.[2] We have spoken of some articles of common use before. We can add to them the manufacture of 'basins, cups, steel guns, knives, and scissors' which was noticed by the Chinese traveller Mahuan in Bengal.[3]

We have already referred to the inlay work. We may add that refined work in metals in general and in gold and silver in particular had made great advances under the Sultāns of Delhi.[4] By the time of Tīmūr, gold and silver vessels, inlaid ornaments, embroidered and damascened work, ewers of Bīdarī alloy, crowns, embroidered belts, necklaces, dishes, dish covers and other articles were common in many big cities.[5] Barbosa bears testimony to the 'very fine work' of 'the very good goldsmiths' of Gujarāt.[6] This skill of the Indian workman partly explains why Tīmūr usually spared the lives of Indian

---

1 A.A., I, 35-6.

2 Compare Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh's estimate (*vide* A.M., 77) that of all the existing varieties of sword the Indian was the best and the finest in temper. Among other varieties of Indian swords he makes a special mention of one rare variety named *Mān-gohar*. Usually the armouries and treasures of monarchs did not possess more than one of this kind for it required so much time, labour and wealth and exceptional skill to manufacture it. Among the leading sword manufacturers of his age, he mentions those of Kūraj (?) on the Indus.

3 *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 532.

4 Of this there are several instances in Muslim chronicles. Early in the period, the son of Rāi Pithorā, governor of Ajmer sent to Qutb-ud-dīn among other gifts four 'gold melons' which were most exquisitely worked in gold and looked like real fruits. The General had them forwarded to Sultān Muhammad bin Sām in Ghūr as a rare piece of art. (*Vide* T.F.M., 22-3; also *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* MS. f. 91.) Compare also a reference to 'gold melons' under Humāyūn in a later part. The other favourite piece of metal work was the imitation garden worked with precious metals and jewellery. Compare for instance a description of Amīr Khusrau in K.K., 772, in connection with the celebrations which Sultān Mubārak Shāh Khaljī organized to mark the birth of his eldest son. He laid an imitation garden in which all the fruit trees were made of gold and their leaves of emerald. The cypresses were made from rubies. The grass effect was produced by scattering emeralds in abundance on the floor. A gold *humā* with a pearl in its beak was perching on a tree. On the whole, Amīr Khusrau is of the opinion that the excellent results attained in the work of gold could with difficulty be imagined with wax.

5 For Bīdarī alloy and damascened silver work, compare the catalogue of the Indian Museum, London, 19, for an ewer signed by a craftsman in the service of Tīmūr and dated 803 A.H. (1400 A.D.): compare the list of presents of Pīr Muhammad to Tīmūr after the conquest of Multān. It took the clerks two days to make an inventory of them.

6 Barbosa, I, 142.

craftsmen in his indiscriminate massacre of Indian people. Tīmūr also carried away a large number of them to enrich his capital, Samarqand.[1] Under Akbar, an even greater refinement was attained in the quality of metal work. Abu'l Fazl, his secretary, is full of warm praise for the excellence of goldsmiths who made ornaments and were sometimes paid ten times the value of the metal they worked, for their wages. He enumerates a number of groups of goldsmiths, who had specialized in making various ornaments. They made chandeliers, sometimes weighing ten maunds and even more, in a variety of patterns. He similarly refers to special workers of enamel, inlay, damascened, embroidery, ornamental and other delicate work.[2]

3. *Stone and brick work.*—A still larger number of workers, perhaps, was engaged in stone, brick and other work in connection with house construction and buildings. It is not only the buildings of Hindūstān, but even those of Kābul, Ghaznī, and Samarqand which bear testimony to the skill of the Indian mason.[3] Amīr Khusrau proudly claimed that the masons and stone-cutters of Delhi were superior to their fellow craftsmen of the whole Muslim world.[4] One primary cause of these excellent results was the patronage of the state. We have noted before that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji employed 70,000 workers for the construction of state buildings. We have similarly noted that in spite of the existing number of skilled masons, Fīrūz Tughluq assigned 4,000 of his slaves to be trained in these crafts. Similarly Bābur was very proud of the skill of Indian workmen and observes that he employed 680 stone-cutters in the construction of his buildings at Āgra and 1,491 in various other places.[5] It is unnecessary to add that Hindu chiefs patronised the masons and other workers even more than the Muslims. The Dilwāra temples at Mount Ābū, the buildings of Gwalior and Chitor all bear testimony to the fact that the ancient building traditions were scrupulously maintained and perhaps also improved in certain directions. It may be mentioned in this connection that enamelled tiles and bricks were also introduced into Hindūstān and were worked with success in various parts, not excluding Bengal.[6]

---

1 Compare, for instance M., 289.

2 A.A.I., 185–7; *ibid.*, I, 44.

3 Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī after his capture and destruction of Muttra conscripted Indian builders to construct the famous mosque of Ghaznī, 'The Bride of Heaven'. Similarly when Tīmūr saw the fine work in the Jāmi' Masjid built by Muhammad Tughluq in Delhi, he decided to construct a similar structure in Samarqand and the stone-workers of Delhi with him to his capital. (*Vide* T.F., I,

4 Compare K.F., 13.

5 B.N., 268-9.

6 Compare specimens of the 15th century from Gaur (Be the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Other minor industries.

Mention may be made in this connection of some minor industries, for instance coral work, ivory work, imitation jewellery. Coral work was done in Gujarāt and Bengal. The cornelians of Gujarāt were of great excellence and were even exported outside India.[1] A limited amount of ivory work was done in certain places. The ivory workers showed great skill in turning out inlaid and other plain articles, for instance, bracelets, bangles, sword-hilts, dice, chessmen, chess boards, bedsteads in black, yellow, red, and blue and many other colours, which were sent over to many cities in India.[2] The making of imitation pearls was becoming popular. Barbosa was particularly impressed by those of Gujarāt.[3] Similarly many references are found in Bengali literature to the manufacture of artificial birds, plants, and flowers.[4] Wood-work of excellent quality was done throughout the country. It was necessary for various needs of the household, for instance, doors, pegs, seats, toys, bedsteads, and other implements and vessels.

4. *Paper.*—It is commonly believed that the Chinese discovered the use of paper and that the Muslims borrowed the paper industry from them. Recent researches, however, have made it clear that while the Chinese were acquainted with the manufacture of paper, that was made from the mulberry tree, namely the *Kāghadh* or *Kok-dz* ' (usually referred to as made from ' grasses and plants '), the credit of discovering pure rag-paper goes to the Arabs or rather to the paper-makers of Samarqand.[5] Of the original Chinese variety, reference is made to the ' white paper ' of Bengal, which is reported to have been

---

[1] Compare Barbosa, I, 155. [2] *Ibid.*, 142.

[3] *Ibid.* Compare also many references in Chronicles to the ingenuity and mechanical skill of a famous Afghān nobleman named Miyān Bahua who contrived many interesting ornaments and made imitation pearls of great excellence.

[4] Compare *J.D.L.*, 1929, 240.

[5] For other details on the subject of rag-paper, compare R. Hoernle's summary of the researches of Professors Wiesner and Karabacek of the Vienna University in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, ' Who was the inventor of rag-paper ? ' pp. 663–684. It is made clear that when Muslims first came into touch with the Chinese, the latter used besides ' grasses and plants ', more or less macerated rags and ropes (linen, hempen and others) in making paper. The Arabs gradually increased the substitution of rag-fibres, until at last they confined themselves to the use of woven or worked-up fibres, contained in rags, ropes, nets, and such-like material, mostly linen. This improvement affected the surface of the paper, by extracting the fibres through a mechanical process and by sizing it with starch glue. It is the preparation of paper by this improved method, the credit of which goes to the Arabs, or more properly to the paper-makers of Samarqand. The Arabs had similarly taken over from the Chinese the processes of ' sizing ' and ' loading ' of paper. By the close of the 8th century the whole process of making paper as it was substantially practised until the invention of paper-machines, had been completed. Compare I.G.I., IV, 206 for the older theory.

made from the bark of a tree and was 'smooth and glossy like a deer's skin'.[1] Nicolo Conti refers to the use of paper in Gujarāt without specifying its quality, but probably the Gujarāt paper was made according to the improved method.[2] Amīr Khusrau mentions the use of what he calls *Shāmī* (Syrian) paper in Delhi. Of this paper (which probably borrowed its name from Damascus and was of the improved type) he mentions two varieties, the *plain* and the *silk*, the latter probably being a kind of felt, although the point has not been made clear.[3] The large number of plain and illuminated manuscripts and other documents that have come down to us from the period leave no doubt as to the existence of a paper industry. Mention is even made of a regular market of book-sellers in Delhi. It appears, however, that the quantity of the paper was not sufficient to cope with the demand, and people had to exercise great economy in the use of paper.[4]

5. *Sugar*.—The cultivation of sugarcane was fairly extensive in Hindūstān. Sugar was generally made from sugarcane. The usual process of manufacture was as follows:—They cut the sugarcane into sections, then pressed them in the mill; the juice was then heated in big iron pans until it crystallized into unrefined sugar, when it was either turned into cakes of *Gur*, or with a little more refining made into soft sugar (*khānd*). The most refined and esteemed form of sugar was the crystallized white *Qand*.[5] The manufacture of sugar was carried on on a fairly large scale in Hindūstān. In Bengal, sufficient was produced to leave a good surplus for export after local and internal consumption. They packed the sugar for export in parcels of untanned and sewn leather and carried a great store of this to many lands. Besides these varieties of sugar, they manufactured granulated sugar in Bengal and prepared various candied and preserved fruits.[6] That sugar was universally used all over the country is shown by numerous descriptions of sweets and sweet dishes and can be gathered from the mention of the sale of sugar and sugared drinks, in contemporary literature. Honey was collected all over the country but was neither commonly used, nor exported.

6. *Leather-work*.—A fairly large group of workers lived by leather-work and still remains as a separate caste of *Chamārs*

---

[1] Compare Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 532.

[2] Frampton, 143.

[3] Q.S., 173, where the process of manufacture is also described.

[4] Compare the amusing instance in which the royal *farmāns* were literally washed off under Balban. B., 64. References to the book-sellers of Delhi are made in Amīr Khusrau's I'jāz-i-khusravī and Baranī's chronicle.

[5] Compare a description in Amīr Khusrau, K.K., 740.

[6] Compare Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 531, who considers this trade in the export of sugar very remunerative.

(or leather-workers).[1] The demand for leather goods, though not heavy, can be presumed to be general. For instance, of the 10,000 and odd horses which the Sultān of Delhi gave in gift to his nobles, many were accompanied by saddles and bridles of leather.[2] The scabbards of swords, covers of books and shoes, which were articles of common use among all upper classes, were usually made of leather. The use of leather in packing sugar parcels for export in Bengal has already been referred to. The average peasant, similarly, could not do without a water-bucket made of leather, some sort of shoes for the cold season, and several other smaller articles of agricultural use, all of which were made of leather. Besides these goods, certain articles of great excellence were made out of leather. In Gujarāt, they made red and blue leather mats 'exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire'. They also dressed great numbers of skins of various kinds namely, goat-skins, ox-skins, buffalo and wild ox-skins as well as those of the rhinoceros and other animals. In fact, so many skins were dressed every year in Gujarāt that they exported many ship-loads to Arabia and other countries.[3]

Character of Industrial Labour.

After the enumeration of these chief industries of Hindūstān, let us add a word on the nature and organization of industrial labour. In their main features the industrial workers did not differ greatly from rural craftsmen and shared all their advantages and disadvantages. The industrial guilds were based on castes and were hereditary ; their implements and the technique of their work was crude, and the output meagre though of excellent quality. Except to those who worked in royal *Kār-kh̲ānas* or were employed by the government, no adequate State protection was given to safeguard their interests. The supply of industrial goods was restricted by the needs of a small upper class which was content with a few varieties of textile goods, a few articles of metal-work or wood-work, specified forms of architecture, and a very limited number of other goods. The workmen did not think of the broader needs of a whole community. It may be admitted without hesitation that the artistic value of these goods was considerable and the skill of the Indian workman developed to an extraordinary

---

[1] Compare I.K., for references to the guilds of leather workers in many places.

[2] Compare the *Masālik-ul-abṣār*'s account E.D., III, 578.

[3] Compare the opinion of Marco Polo who considered these mats marvellously beautiful. Yule, II, 393-4.

degree in the long course of his work.[1] Unfortunately, the traditions of guilds and crafts created a rigid exclusiveness and in some cases the secrets of skilled crafts died with them and were lost to the future generations.

II. Trade and Commerce.

A succession of favourable crops always left a disposable surplus of corn in the village which was usually carried to the neighbouring towns or transported to a *mandī* (or market-town) for distribution over the country. Industrial goods were usually made or manufactured expressly for sale in a suitable market. The aristocracy of Hindūstān was always in want of such goods which could only be imported from abroad. The Sultān was always on the lookout to replenish his stock of horses by importing them from neighbouring countries. All these and other similar demands stimulated the exchange and transport of goods within and without the country. In fact, both inland and foreign trade had a very long and continuous tradition in India. The problem of carriage and transport was solved fairly well for the merchants and carriers of goods. For communication on land, there were a number of roads and pathways running all over the country which were kept in good condition by the State for its administrative requirements, especially for the movement of big armies with their heavy baggage trains. The traders were allowed to make use of all these facilities on land.

In the absence of modern nautical appliances and the use of steamships, a voyage on the sea was obviously full of real dangers, not the least from the sea pirates. But in spite of all dangers, coastal trading was popular with the Indians, and Arabs and other foreign merchants carried on trade with many countries. The dangers of loss or destruction on the sea were more than compensated by the amount of profit one successful voyage brought with it. Some of the foreign traders even maintained their establishments and organizations in various countries. Inside the country the carriers of goods were very well organized. All these conditions led to a fairly extensive activity both in internal trade and in foreign commerce.

A. Internal Trade.—India has a very ancient business tradition, as has been pointed out, and the system of castes assigns a separate and major caste of *Vaisyas* expressly for the purpose of trading. The old trading classes of the *Gujarātīs* (or Mārwārīs) of the North and the *Chettis* of the South still

[1] Compare Barbosa, I, 142, who considers that Khambāyat (Cambay) had the best workmen of every kind. Compare Varthema, 286, who declared the Indians to be 'the greatest and most expert workers' throughout the world.

[2] Compare Barbosa, II, 146; Varthema, 214, how women were excluded from the spinning and weaving of fine cloth in Bengal.

occupy their ancient and honoured occupation and carry on their commercial activities. Until the last century, the old class of grain-carriers, known as *Banjārās* of Rājputāna, still employed hundreds of thousands of oxen in their trade. Some of their caravans amounted to as many as 40,000 head of oxen.[1]

I have made a reference to the tiny market of the village. The city market will be described in another place. Besides business in the regular shops of the market, petty shopkeepers and dealers also carried on their business in movable stalls and on pack horses. Pedlars and itinerary dealers were common.[2] Bigger deals in commodities were made in special market towns or *mandīs* which also served as convenient media of exchange for the surplus of corn or goods produced in the vicinity. Administrative centres like Multān and Lahore or capital cities like Delhi sometimes served as big clearing houses for whole provinces. At the annual or periodical fairs of a neighbouring town, the retail merchants and petty shopkeepers of the surrounding places obtained their new stock of goods or replenished the old one. Special cattle fairs on a vary large scale were held in well-known places for the sale of all kinds of cattle, e.g. horses, oxen, camels, cows and buffaloes, and people came long distances to buy or dispose of their animals.[3]

Large-scale business was a preserve of special classes or particular communities. The petty business of a town was similarly in the hands of professional merchants. Certain classes of craftsmen preferred to sell their finished goods direct to the customer or to the dealer of those goods. All of them were guided by immemorial customs. There was no ethical code to regulate the nature of their commercial enterprise beyond what the State thought fit to lay down.[4] The most important business communities of Hindūstān were the *Multānīs* in the North and the Gujarātī Baniās on the West Coast; the latter dealt in both Indian and foreign goods and had even spread out into Malabar and Cochin where they dealt with goods 'of every kind from many lands'. Foreign Muslim merchants were usually known as *Khurāsānīs*. They traded all over the country, and several other Muslim groups carried on their business in coastal towns. Some of the *Cāravānīs* or Banjārās also carried on business on their own account.[5] The rulers of the coastal

---

1 Compare Tod, II, 1117.

2 Compare Salzmann, 244, for trade conditions in mediæval England.

3 Compare Tod, II, iii–12, for a parallel from Mārwār.

4 Compare T., 13*b*, how orthodox Muslim opinion forbade trading in slaves and hoarding of corn, which was persistently ignored by the commercial classes.

5 Compare Barbosa, II, 73, for Gujarātī Baniās; many references in I.K. and Ibn Batūta for Khurāsānīs; B. 385 for Multānīs and Banjārās. Compare also Le Bon (*vide* Urdu Translation, 91-2) who identifies both Multānīs and Banjārās with two classes of the Jāt community, which is now predominantly agricultural.

kingdoms in the Deccan accorded to foreign merchants certain extra-territorial rights and special concessions, in consideration for the heavy taxes these communities paid to their treasury. The merchants of Hindūstān who carried on their business in the South enjoyed all these immunities and facilities.

Among the classes which did not actively participate in internal and foreign trade, but depended upon it for their living we may mention the class of carriers of goods and the class of brokers. The Banjārās, whom we have mentioned earlier, carried on the business of conveying agricultural and other produce from one part of the country to another on a very extensive scale. Their migratory habits, their large stock of bullocks and bullock-carts and wagons and pack horses, and their intimate knowledge of the roads of the country specially fitted them for their task.[1] The *Bhāts* of Rājputāna took up the guiding of caravans on the road in the dangerous and insecure countryside of Gujarāt and Rājputāna.[2]

Big business on the coast and inside the country was usually done with the aid of an organized class of brokers who 'skillfully raised the price of commodities by charging their commission to both parties of a deal'. When Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī decided to control the demand and the supply of his kingdom, particularly of Delhi, he had to suppress the class of brokers in his rough and ready manner.[3] But as soon as the commercial activities were released from the control of the State, the brokers resumed their normal functions. By the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluq the business rules and practice of brokers were sufficiently important to find a place in the legal compendium of the reign.[4] The system of agency was similarly known and practised. Legal agents (*vakīls*) were regularly employed by principals to conduct business on their behalf.[5] The native bankers discharged some of the commonly accepted functions of the present-day banking. They used to give loans and receive deposits or *hundīs*.[6] Among other facilities for trading we

---

[1] Compare the opinion of Malik Muhammad Jāisī, P., 484.

[2] Compare many references in Tod; also in Sidī 'Alī Reīs.

[3] Compare Baranī, B (MS.), 155.

[4] Compare F.F., 340*b*, that if a broker had negotiated the sale of a commodity between two parties and the transaction later fell through, without any fault on the part of the broker and after the terms of the deal had been agreed to, the broker was not bound to refund his commission, for it was to be considered his wages.

[5] Compare an illustration in W.M., 31*b*.

[6] Compare *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1929 Edition, Vol. III, 44, how among other functions banking provides: (1) Safe keeping for people's money. (2) A temporary investment for money paying interest so long as the money is retained and repaying the principal on its being claimed in accordance with the contract. (3) The provision of a means of payment—in credit money, Bank Notes and cheques, etc.; compare also Jain, 10, for a definition of indigenous banking of India: 'Any individual or private firm, which, in addition to making loans, either receives deposits

may note the system of lending money on interest. Bonds known as *Tamassuks* were regularly executed; and the law provided elaborate rules for the production and the examination of evidence and for fixing the rate of stipulated interest. All these rules were enforced by the judicial authorities in the kingdom.[1]

We shall treat the question of money-lenders separately from other business customs and practices. A whole class of people from both communities began to thrive on the business of lending money. They advanced loans to support commercial undertakings, but their principal business was to lend money at the most profitable rate of interest. These *Sāhūs* and *Mahājans*, as money-lenders and bankers were called, were extremely popular with all the upper classes whose extravagance and constant demand for money were proverbial. It is difficult to ascertain the rate of interest, but by comparing a number of stray statements of Amīr Khusrau, we will put it for a rough calculation at 10 per cent. per annum on big sums and 20 per cent. on small or petty sums.[2] The system of these usurious loans and compound rates of interest led to the heavy indebtedness of the poorer people who borrowed small sums but could hardly pay back, while the greater resources of a noble and, in the last resort, his power and influence came to his rescue.[3] Let us note in this connection, that people usually carried about their cash or valuables in *himyānīs* or hollow belts of tough cloth, which they usually wore around their waist on a journey.[4]

As to the standards of commercial morality, let us remember that the moral standards of mediæval merchants were usually low in every country, as is quite natural to expect in the absence of present organization and control. There were few means of earning a dishonest penny that the tradesmen did not try.

---

or deals in *hundīs* or both'; also illustration in W.M., 31*b*, from the reign of the Lodīs. Compare the opinion of Baranī, how sometimes the indebted nobles transferred to these native bankers the right of holding a revenue-assignment or *Iqtā'* for a money consideration or a cash payment in advance (*vide* B., 63). Similarly Jain, 10, for *Itlāq* or the system of 'cash-cards' which developed under Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq. The soldiers were paid these cash-cards by the State in outlying places and the financiers of Delhi discounted them at a fixed rate of commission.

[1] Compare T.F.I., 166, for an illustration.

[2] Compare M.A., 150, for the Muslim money-lenders. Compare for the rates of interest K.K., 312, where Amīr Khusrau mentions the rate of interest at one *Jītal* per month for the principal sum of one *Tanka* or about 20 per cent. per annum. In *I'jāz-i-khusravī*, Vol. I, 174, he definitely speaks of 10 per cent. per annum which probably applies to big sums. In *Matla' ul-anwār*, 100, he makes a similar reference to the system of monthly payment of interest.

[3] Compare the despairing wail of Lalla, of going to a country where there was no system of 'debt' nor anyone that lends'. *Vide* Temple, 185; also T., 15, on the evils of borrowing.

[4] Compare B., 130-1.

Attempts at adulteration and fraudulent weights were quite common and no amount of sermonizing was effective in correcting them.[1] Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī instituted very severe punishments and a very rigid control over their dealings. Special market officials and spies were appointed to supervise them, and sometimes the Sultān even sent out young children in various disguises to detect their malpractices. When the Sultān had finally succeeded in suppressing or at least in temporarily retarding commercial dishonesty and business frauds, he was acclaimed all over the kingdom and all his cruelties, even his want of faith, were forgotten in the enthusiasm of the moment.[2] It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that in spite of the insecurities of maritime trade and more or less complete freedom from government control, a very different moral atmosphere prevailed in coastal towns, where the Indian merchants dealt with foreign traders. The foreign travellers uniformly bear witness to the integrity and truthfulness of Indian merchants, to their honest methods of business, to their acuteness and to their measures and weights 'that will turn by a hair of the head'.[3]

It is not possible to form any accurate or even tentative estimate of the volume of internal trade of Hindūstān. The villages together with their *mandīs* were probably areas of comparatively brisk exchanges of commodities under ordinary peaceful conditions. We may say with confidence that Delhi and other provincial capitals were the focus of the internal trade of their respective territories and displayed considerable commercial activity. As a whole, the volume of internal trade was large except when thwarted by the monopoly of the State or rigid administrative control.[4] Various references are made to

---

[1] Compare Salzmann, 75, for an estimate of England; also *ibid.*, 241-2, for the sermon of Berthold of Ratisbon, on the dishonest ways of shopkeepers; compare I.K., I, 174; also Kabīr, Shah, 162; especially the opinion and observations of Baranī who warmly supports the measures of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and in a description of the commercial classes, by no means the strongest, calls them 'the biggest liars and the meanest of the seventy-two races'. *Vide* B., 316-17, 343.

[2] Compare, for instance, the compliment paid to the Sultān by a famous theologian named Shams-ud-dīn, who came to India to advance the cause of Muslim religion but returned because of his disgust at the personal religion of the Sultān and the callous disregard of the latter for Muslim injunctions. According to him the success of 'Alā-ud-dīn in suppressing commercial fraud was a unique achievement 'since the age of Adam'. (*Vide* B., 298.)

[3] Compare Varthema, 168.

[4] Compare Tod, II, 1110, for an illustration of the effect of monopoly on the internal trade of Rājputāna: 'Commerce has been almost extinguished within these last twenty years; and paradoxical as it may appear, there was tenfold more activity and enterprise in the midst of that predatory warfare, which rendered India one wide arena of conflict, than in these days of universal pacification. The torpedo touch of monopoly has had more effect on the kitars (i.e. rows of caravans) than the spear of the desert Sahariya'.

individual fortunes amassed through commercial enterprise by many business men. How far such estimates reflect upon the currents of the internal trade or its volume is extremely uncertain.[1]

B. Foreign Trade.—India had always, even in the ancient past, substantial commercial relations with the outside world. In the period under review the rise of Islām and the Moorish supremacy over the seas had cut off India from direct commercial relations with Europe. This, however, did not affect the volume of Indian commerce or the distribution of Indian goods in western countries. Indian goods were carried by the Arabs to the Red Sea and from there found their way to Damascus and Alexandria whence they were distributed all over the Mediterranean countries and beyond. These Indian goods reached the East African coast, the Malay Islands and China in the Far East, and other countries on the Pacific Ocean through the agencies of the Moorish merchants. India was similarly connected on the mainland with Central Asia, Afghānistān, and Persia through the Multān-Quetta route, the Khyber Pass, and the Kashmīr routes. Caravans of merchants, familiar with these beaten tracks since ancient days, were frequently passing between India, Bukhārā, 'Irāq, and even as far as Damascus.

1. *The Sea-borne Trade.*—One great advantage of the seaboard was its comparative safety until the coming of the Portuguese about the middle of the 16th century. The land frontiers, on the other hand, were constantly menaced by the Mongol invaders. The sea-routes were in the hands of the Moorish merchants who had a more or less complete monopoly of the sea-borne trade of India, the volume of which was considerable. The chief articles of import were certain articles of luxury for the use of the upper classes and a general supply of all kinds of horses and mules.

Among articles of luxury mention may be made of silks, velvets, and embroidered curtains together with other furnishings and decorations. We have already mentioned how brocade and silk stuffs were partly imported from Alexandria, 'Irāq, and China under Sultān Muhammad Tughluq. Similarly, we are informed by a chronicler that the royal stores of Gujarāt were always provided with articles of luxury made in European countries.[2] By the time of Humāyūn these foreign goods were

[1] Compare, for instance, Frampton, 135; Major, 22, where Nicolo Conti mentions that the merchants between 'Indo and Gange' were so rich that one of them owned forty ships which he employed for the shipment of his own goods. All of them were estimated to be worth 50,000 ducats (gold pieces) each. Compare Jain, 10, for another instance of two bankers of the Jain community who built the finest Jain temple of Dilwāra on Mount Abū at their own expense in the 12th century. According to Jain, the undertaking must have cost them 'an enormous sum of money'.

[2] Compare T.A., I, 198 (Lucknow Edition).

generally popular with the nobility and the royal families of Hindūstān.[1] With the manufacture of guns, gun-powder, and other mechanical weapons, a new stimulus was given to the import trade of Hindūstān. Gold, silver, copper, and *Tūtiyā* (blue vitriol) were also imported in small quantities.[2]

There was a great demand for the supply of horses in Hindūstān. Apart from the enormous military demand for the supply of horses, the animal was also commonly employed for conveyance, pleasure-riding, and racing. The choice animals found a ready market in Hindūstān. The fondness for horses was by no means confined to the Muslims. Hindus were equally anxious to revise their old-time ideas of military equipment and were slowly substituting horses for elephants. Thus there was a great demand for the supply of horses in Hindu States of Rājputāna and the Deccan, especially in the latter, where climatic and other conditions discouraged the breeding of horses and the stock had to be replenished from outside from time to time. For the annual gifts of the Sultān, special arrangements were made to procure the best horses from every country, and a very good price was paid.[3] Horses were also regularly purchased for the supply of the royal stables. We shall mention the import of horses through the land frontier later on. Let us note here that some thoroughbreds were brought from Dhofar (on the extremity of Yemen), others from Kis, Hormuz and Aden, and others still together with mules from Persia.[4]

The exports of Hindūstān were numerous and included a variety of indigenous products, especially grain and cotton cloth. Some of the countries round the Persian Gulf depended on India for their entire food supply.[5] The Islands in the Pacific Ocean, the Malay Islands, and the East Coast of Africa were fairly extensive markets for Indian goods. The export trade of Hindūstān was carried on mainly through the ports of Gujarāt and Bengal. The principal exports of Gujarāt consisted of precious stones, indigo, cotton, hides, and 'many other kinds of merchandise too tedious to mention'. The cotton cloth and other textiles were especially important items of

---

[1] Compare the use of Italian and Portuguese articles of decoration in the royal banquets of Humāyūn, described in a later chapter; compare, *ibid.*, 423, for the use of gorgeous canopies with linings of European velvets and embroideries of Portugal, by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sūr.

[2] Compare Yule, II, 398.

[3] Compare E.D., III, 578.

[4] Compare the account of Marco Polo (who calls the mules 'asses') in Yule, I, 83-4; *ibid.*, Vol. II, 340; the account of Ibn Batūta, K.R., I, 156; compare a description of the invading army of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī at Chitor by Malik Muhammad Jāisī who speaks of horses of many countries, 'Irāq, Turkistān, Balkh, Bhūtān, etc. *Vide* P. (hin), 227.

[5] Compare, for instance, the account of Ibn Batūta, K.R., I, 157, that the inhabitants of Qalhat lived almost entirely on Indian goods, grain, cloth, etc.; *ibid.*; 156, that rice, the staple food of Yemen, was imported from India.

export.[1] Other minor exports consisted of cornelians, gingelly oil, southernwood, spikenard, tutenag, opium, indgo-cakes, and certain other drugs unknown to Europeans, but greatly esteemed by the people of Malacca and China.[2] The exports in agricultural produce consisted of large quantities of wheat, millet, rice, pulses, oilseeds, scents, and other similar articles. This list is, however, by no means exhaustive. According to Varthema, Bengal was the richest country in the world for cotton, ginger, sugar, grain, and flesh of every kind. Barbosa considers sugar the chief article of export from Bengal, and in other respects substantially agrees with the statement of Varthema.[3] Barros observes that the wealth of Bengal before the rise of Sher Shāh to power was considered equal in amount to the joint wealth of Gujarāt and Vijayanagar.[4] How far it depended on its export trade is not clear.

It is almost impossible to determine the volume of foreign trade of Hindūstān, as no statistics were ever kept of the imports and exports. Compared to the huge and growing figures of to-day, the volume of foreign trade was probably very small. Khambāyat (Cambay) in Gujarāt and Bangālā in Bengal were the two important ports in the North for foreign trade.[5] According to Varthema, these two ports supplied all 'Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary, that is Africa, Arabian Felix, Ethiopia, India', and a multitude of other inhabited islands with silk and cotton stuffs. He speaks of about three hundred ships of different countries visiting Khambāyat every year. His estimate of the output of cotton and silk for Bengal comes to fifty ship-loads.[6] The average tonnage and the loading capacity of a ship is, however, unascertainable, and, except for a general statement, the whole information is very vague. It shows that India had considerable markets round the Persian Gulf and in the countries bordering on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; but we know nothing about the demands of those countries and their capacity for the consumption of these goods. We can only say that the carrying trade of India, its potential wealth and the opportunities for development, and finally, the Indian market itself, were sufficiently vast to attract the Portuguese king who safely

[1] Compare Yule, II, 398; Major, 9; Frampton, 127. Compare the account of Barbosa that 'many cotton muslins for veils and other white and coarse cloth of the same' were sent to many countries on the Persian Gulf and the Malay Islands in ships. Among exports of Gujarāt, he mentions a variety of printed cloths, silks, and muslins (*vide* following). Nikitin includes blankets among Gujarāt exports (*vide* Major, 19).

[2] Compare Barbosa, I, 154–156.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 145–147.

[4] Compare Barbosa, II. Appendix, 246.

[5] For 'Bangālā' see Appendix, Moreland, 'India at the death of Akbar'.

[6] Compare Varthema, 111, 212.

expected to be the richest king of the world in the event of conquering India.[1]

The share of Indians in the oversea carrying trade was not very considerable. The trade and shipping on the Indian coast were mainly in the hands of the foreigners, chiefly Arabs. A small community of Indian traders composed of Gujarātī Baniās, the Chettis of the South, and some Moors, who were domiciled in India, had some share in foreign trade and mercantile marine. Now and then a few other Indians were attracted towards these profitable enterprises.[2] But on the whole, the Indians never took to sea-faring and maritime activities on a big scale. Their manners and customs and the whole of their outlook discouraged any such venture on a national scale.

2. *Trade through the Land Frontiers.*—The trade of India through its land frontiers is, as we have said, very old. In spite of the Mongol menace during most of this period, the caravans of merchants never ceased to come. In fact, the inhabitants of Turkistān and the Mongols themselves, whenever they found a respite from their more profitable occupation of raiding the territories of their neighbours, carried on an extensive trade in musk, furs, arms, falcons, camels, and horses.[3] We have already referred to the merchants of Khurāsān, the Turkish and Chinese slaves, and a kind of cloth named *Shustarī*, probably from Shustar. After the Mongols had ceased to be a menace, probably greater commercial activity was displayed through the land frontiers. Under Bābur and Humāyūn, when the trade conditions could not be called normal or stable as far as these frontiers are considered, we find caravans coming to India from outside, and other references of contact. Under Akbar[4] and for a long time afterwards, the more peaceful conditions must have affected the trading activities in this part of India very favourably.

Horses were the principal article of import, though other articles of luxuries and especially furs and arms were also in

---

1 Compare the concluding remarks of Varthema addressed to the King of Portugal, 296.

2 Compare, for instance, the observation of Mahuan, on a class of rich people in Bengal who built ships and took to commerce with foreign nations. He even reports that a Sultān of Bengal fitted out ships and sent them out for foreign trade (*vide* *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 533); compare also I.G.I. for observations on some districts in the Bombay Presidency, e.g. Thāna, Ratnagiri, Sūrat, etc.

3 Compare the account of Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, T.F.M., 38.

4 Compare, for Bābur, Macauliffe, I, 51, where trade relations between Delhi, Multān, and Kābul appear to be a familiar feature of commercial life in the Punjāb; compare (A.N., I, 207) the account of Abu'l Fazl for the items of royal entertainments and the menu of banquets and food supply for Humāyūn in Persia, which includes the preparations of many Indian sweets and foods. For the frequent visits of caravans, compare *ibid.*, I, 242, 299.

demand.[1] Horses were imported into India in very large numbers even in periods of the Mongol menace, and their comparatively cheaper prices secured a ready market in Delhi. People of 'Azaq' in Turkistān specially bred horses for export to Hindūstān and developed an elaborate organization for their safe carriage and attendance on the way.[2] On entering the Indian territory these animals were usually taxed to a quarter of their value. Under Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, these import duties were reduced and the owners of the horses had to pay a fixed tax of seven Tankas per horse on entering the border of Sind and a further duty at Multān,[3] all of which came cheaper than before. It is not possible to give even a vague estimate of the volume of trade carried on over the land frontiers.

Foreign Merchants in Hindūstān.—The contemporary chroniclers sometimes complain of the profiteering character of the foreign merchants in India and their utter want of sympathy with Hindūstān and its people. We have already mentioned the instance of foreigners under Muhammad Tughluq.[4] Many others may be added to justify the validity and force of the accusation. It is usually forgotten that the foreign traders who came to India had no particular attachment to any country and went wherever the prospects of big profits attracted them. Some of them might have been interested in spreading the religion of Islām[5]; others may have married and settled down and thus cultivated some sympathy towards the land of their domicile.[6] But on the whole, the foreign traders as a community were only interested in carrying on their business and making profits. It should not be forgotten, however, that the contact of foreigners incidentally contributed to the improvement of certain unhealthy social traditions, and raised the standard of life of certain

---

[1] Compare K.R., I, 239, for the import of silk and velvet garment from Nīshāpūr, 'one of the four capitals of Khurāsān'; also Marco Polo. Yule, I, 90, for the manufacture of steel for Indian swords in Kerman.

[2] Compare the account of Ibn Batūta, K.R., I, 199-200. The people of Azaq exported horses to India in droves of 6,000 or thereabout. Various merchants had a share of about 200 horses each in these herds. For each fifty horses, they engaged the services of a keeper called *Qāshī* who looked after them and their feeding on the way.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Compare a petition quoted by Amīr Khusrau (*vide* I.K., II, 319). It is addressed to a highly placed administrative official of Delhi on behalf of a citizen, and solicits his intervention against a foreign merchant. The petitioner summarizes in a sentence his main indictment. 'Since the stream of gold flows through our majestic city of Delhi', writes the indignant Amīr Khusrau, 'the tribe of foreign merchants pretend to be on terms of best friendship with us, only to ruin the foundations of our prosperity in the long run'.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Compare Macauliffe, I, 146-47, for an interesting case of a newly converted Sikh merchant who goes to Ceylon for purposes of trade and preaching the mission of Guru Nānak. The Moors, like most of the Muslims, were well known for their proselytising tendencies.

localities. The coastal towns of India and inland centres, such as Multān, Lahore, Delhi, and Gaur, which were favourite haunts of foreign merchants, were the most progressive centres of Hindūstān in many respects.

The Standards of Life.

I. *The standards of life of different social classes.*

It will help the better understanding of the subject if we examine some items of expenditure, income and earnings of the different social classes we have mentioned earlier.

A. The Sultān.—We have already said something about the establishments of the Sultāns of Delhi. Let us consider here some items of their permanent and non-recurring expenditure.

To take an instance, Sultān Muhammad Tughluq used to present two robes of honour, one in the cold and the other in the hot season to each of his nobles.[1] The number of these robes, according to the account of *Masālik-ul-absār* (which we have quoted earlier), comes to 200,000. Even a modest estimate of the expense of a dress of honour, in which brocade, velvet, and costly material were used, would come to an enormous sum in this case. Take similarly, some items of the supply of royal stores or *kārkhānas*. In the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq there were 36 different stores full of choice and rare goods. The superintendents of the stores were instructed to buy every rare and exquisitely finished article wherever and at whatever price it was available.[2] A single pair of royal shoes, for example, once cost the treasury 70,000 Tankas.[3] Most of the articles of royal use were worked in gold and silver, costly embroidery, and jewels. Consider again, the annual estimate of expenditure of various departments in the *kārkhānas*. The fodder and provisions of the royal stables cost the State from sixty to one hundred thousand Tankas, without including in this sum the pay of the permanent staff or the expenditure incurred over the equipments of the establishment. The replenishing of these provisions from time to time cost a similar amount. The expense incurred on the royal wardrobe came to 600,000 Tankas for the cold weather alone. Similarly, the royal standards and ensigns cost 80,000 Tankas, and the carpeting and furnishings 200,000 Tankas annually. These are only a few and by no means the most burdensome items of permanent expenditure. It is easy to guess what the *haram*, the slaves, the body-guards, the establishment of domestic and skilled workmen, the building of palaces, the costly jewels, and precious stones would have

---

[1] Compare K.R., II, 69-70, for corroboration.
[2] A., 99. [3] *Ibid.*, 401. [4] Compare A., 337-338.

cost the State. We may cite in this enumeration a very negligible but amusing item of domestic provisions, from the records of the last Sūr Sultān named 'Adalī. It is reported that His Majesty was very delicate and sensitive to bad smell, so that two or three loads of camphor were daily picked up by scavengers from the royal lavatories.[1]

Let us now consider some items of extraordinary expenditure, which, however, were a regular feature of the Sultanat. Take, for instance, the expense incurred on royal gifts every year. Every Sultān gave away something to somebody for almost any excuse and almost every day. A royal gift, moreover, was distinguished by its quality and value. We will explain elsewhere the utility and the value of these royal gifts. Let us examine here certain characteristic cases. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī is not particularly famous for his liberality, but his gifts, when he ascended the throne, were enormous. On other occasions too, he was not quite what one may call frugal or economizing.[2] The name of Muhammad Tughluq is a classic example for fabulous gifts of money. To put it in the figurative language of the contemporary chronicler, 'he was anxious to bestow the treasures of Qārūn, 'the Oriental Korah' on one and the hoards of the Kayānīs, the Persian Emperors, on the other, all in a single gift. His indiscriminate liberality did not stop to differentiate between the deserving and the undeserving, between an acquaintance and a stranger, between a new and an old friend, between a citizen and a foreigner, or between the rich and the poor. All of them appeared to him just the same. Nay more, the gift of the monarch preceded the request and the amount or the value of the donation exceeded the wildest expectations of the receiver; so that the latter was literally confounded. The recipients of the royal bounty numbered thousands and were scattered over many countries. In giving his gifts, it appears he did not take into consideration a lower unit than a *lac* (hundred thousand) and a *kror* (ten millions) of Tankas or a measure less than a maund of gold, silver or valuables'. The chronicler then goes on to explain that the high-minded Sultān disdained to look upon gold, silver, pearls, and emeralds except as potsherds and stones.[3] Many of the administrative measures of this monarch can be better appreciated in the light of these propensities. It is true that an unfortunate successor of a great Sultān had to be content with some sort of economy as a virtue of necessity. But it was only just so long as the necessary funds were not forthcoming. These examples always left a glorious

---

[1] Compare M.T., I, 435.

[2] Compare, for instance, his reward to his *kotwāl* of an embroidered robe of honour, 10,000 Tankas in cash, two horses with trappings, and a gift of two rent-free villages, in return for common-sense advice (*vide* B., 271).

[3] Compare the estimate of Baranī, B., 460.

precedent for the successors to follow; and if their means did not permit them, the fault was not theirs.[1]

Besides these occasional gifts, some occasions were particularly marked out for lavish expenditure, the accession of a monarch being one of them. On the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, gold and silver were showered for crowds from catapults; gifts of gold were given to nobles by weight and one gift did not debar the recipient from receiving another. As a result, his homicidal crime was completely forgotten and instead of discontent and disapprobation, there was a general spirit of rejoicing throughout the country.[2] The gifts of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, though somewhat exaggerated in volume, were a rule and not an exception. Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq, the latter in spite of a depleted treasury, and the Mughal emperors, all made it a point to spend huge sums of money in their own way on coming to the throne.[3]

Besides such occasional expenditure, minor occasions also cost the treasury a large amount. For instance, if the Sultān went to a place for the first time, his august visit was celebrated

---

1 Compare M.T., I, 418, for a very amusing example of the last Sūr monarch, 'Adalī, who wanted to go down in history as a second Muhammad Tughluq. On coming to the throne, he elaborated a novel idea of making himself conspicuous for his royal gifts. He had special arrows made for himself which he used to shoot out indiscriminately in all directions. The lucky person who chanced to pick up one of these arrows was entitled to draw 500 Tankas from the royal treasury. Unfortunately the meagre resources of his kingdom did not permit even such a modest amount of display and the plan had to be abandoned, perhaps not without genuine grief on the part of the monarch and his admirers.

2 Compare the comments of Baranī, B., 248. Baranī gives a vivid description of these catapults which 'Alā-ud-dīn used on every stage in his march towards Delhi. He scattered 5 maunds of gold coins in basketfuls (or *jhawwas*) and before he arrived in Delhi, he had gathered round him 50,000 to 60,000 adherents on the way. Every noble who deserted to him received 20 to 30 maunds of gold, and in some cases even 50 maunds. Every soldier who came over to him received 300 Tankas (*ibid.*, 243-244). Like Baranī, Amīr Khusrau also uses the term *Jhawwas* (*vide* K.F., 6, 8) which has been confused with *akhtar* and translated golden 'stars' instead of 'basketfuls' (*vide* E.D., III, 158). The term in its original sense is still used in the United Provinces.

3 Compare the account of Baranī for the accession of Muhammad Tughluq—when the royal procession passed the streets in Delhi, handfuls of gold and silver coins were scattered to the crowds throughout, in obscure lanes, on the roofs of houses, and into the arms of passers-by. When the royal procession entered the palace the nobles and high officials scattered platefuls of gold and silver as an offering to the health of the Sultān (*Nisār*). In short, according to the chronicler, the city of Delhi looked like a garden strewn with 'red and white flowers' enhancing its glory (*vide* B., 456-7). Similarly when Fīrūz Tughluq came to the throne, six triumphal arch pavillions were constructed to welcome him at the capital, each one costing a *lac* of Tankas (*vide* A., 88). At the royal banquet in honour of the coronation of Humāyūn 10,000 tiaras, to speak only of one item, were awarded to the nobles, besides excellent horses and robes of honour (*vide* T.A., I, 194. Lucknow, edition).

with suitable gifts and entertainments.[1] For the State, the Sultān and his vast *entourage* was a very great drain of public money.[2] Unfortunately his requirements did not cease with his earthly existence, and were looked after by the State even after his death. When a monarch died, a big establishment with a special staff was created to look after his spiritual assistance in the next world ; a costly mausoleum was constructed over his grave ; charity houses were opened around it ; and special reciters of the Holy Book were constantly busy offering prayers for the benefit of the royal soul. An immense quantity of food was spent in charitable feeding which attracted an unusually large crowd of professional beggars to the capital.[3]

We have already said something about the resources of the Sultān of Delhi and the royal hoards of silver and gold. It remains to add that over and above the heavy land taxes, the cesses (*abwābs*) and special taxes, import duties and tributes, the whole kingdom and its resources was at the command of the Sultān. He had absolute power to confiscate and appropriate the property of others.[4] If the resources of his kingdom failed to meet his demands, there was no international law or moral opinion to stop him from invading a neighbouring kingdom and converting his conquest into a new source of income.

B. The bureaucracy and State employees.—With an obvious difference of degree, the State nobles followed the royal traditions. The idea of a family budget or of domestic economy was as foreign to their scheme of life as it was to the monarch's. One of the main reasons for the development of this peculiar outlook, as has been pointed out before, was the fact that all their honours and emoluments were personal. There was thus no incentive for saving or economizing and no room for the development of

---

1 Compare M.T., I, 409-10 for the visit of Salīm Sūr to Kālpī, when he ordered the universal distribution of sweetmeats and mangoes of Bayāna to the cost of 2 lacs of rupees, to celebrate the royal visit among the people of Ranthambhor.

2 Compare for instance Q.S., 77, how when the Sultān Kaiqubād and his entourage halted at Jaipur 'the earth was denuded of all grass and the river dried of water and thanks to the compulsory requisitions of the royal party the people were left without any food for themselves or grass and fodder for their animals'.

3 Compare K.K., 864 for beggars in Delhi. Compare the account of Ibn Batūta for the establishment of the mausoleum of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak in Delhi. Muhammad Tughluq assigned for it an allowance of 100,000 maunds of wheat and rice. The rations for the poor and needy were fixed at 12 maunds of flour and a similar quantity of corn per day. In times of scarcity Ibn Batūta (who was supervising the arrangements) raised the allowance to 35 maunds of wheat and flour with a proportionate addition to the quantity of sugar, *ghi* and betel-leaves. (*Vide* K.R., II, 85) : also G., 25-6. Compare also Macauliffe I, 181 for the offer of Guru Nānak to his famous minstrel, Mardana, to raise a mausoleum over his grave after the death of the latter.

4 Compare B., 250-1 for an illustration from the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.

social virtues which foster it.[1] The noble, in his turn, played the part of a Sultān (or of a Rājā in a Hindu State). He must have as big an establishment as possible. He must have his musicians and poets and he must give them thousands of Tankas and beautiful horses and dresses in reward. The marriage of his children, as of the royal princes and princesses, must be celebrated with conspicuous display and distinction; and he should also provide for his spiritual care in the next world by creating suitable institutions of charity and by appointing a goodly number of Qur'ān-reciters during his lifetime. The amount of expenses which the nobles incurred is almost staggering in modern money values.[2]

Let us now consider some facts about the pay and the emoluments of the nobles, for a better appreciation of their expenditure and general extravagance. We have spoken of their revenue assignments in an earlier part. We have also had occasion to mention the emoluments of certain officials. The pay and emoluments of officials were personal and not in virtue of their office. It is therefore difficult to lay down a

---

1 Compare an exposition of Sher Khān T.F., I, 416.

2 Compare the remarks of Tod regarding Rājput vassals. 'The court and the household economy of a great chieftain is a miniature representation of the sovereigns, the same officers, from the pradhan, or minister, to the cup-bearer (paniyari) as well as the same domestic arrangement. He must have his *shish-mahal*, his *bari-mahal*, and his *mandir* like his prince. He enters the *dari-sala* or carpet-hall, the minstrel preceding him rehearsing the praises of his family and he takes his seat on his throne, while the assembled retainers marshalled in lines on the right and left, simultaneously exclaim, 'Health to our chief!' (*Vide* Tod, I, 199-200.) For the establishments of the nobles see Chapter III. Compare B., 113 for the gift of all his horses and 10,000 Tankas to poets and minstrels by Kishlī Khān, a noble of Balban; compare *ibid.*, 197 (MS. 220) for Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn maintaining many poets even when he was a muster-master. He used to pay 1,200 Tankas a year to the father of Amīr Khusrau. Compare K.R., II, 36 for a noble of Muhammad Tughluq named Mīr Qabūla (Mīr Maqbūl) spending three and a half million Tankas on his personal establishment. Compare B., 118 for a noble of Balban named Malik 'Alī who never gave horse to anyone without a purse of silver and always gave a gold or silver coin to a beggar. Compare *ibid.*, 202 how Malik Qutb-ud-dīn 'Alawī, a noble of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, spent 200,000 Tankas in days of scarcity on the marriage of his eldest son. He further distributed 100 horses with trappings and one thousand robes to celebrate the event. Similarly the nephew of Jalāl-ud-dīn, Ahmad Chap once invited the royal musicians to sing at his house and gave them 100,000 Tankas, 100 horses, and 320 dresses (*vide ibid.*, 203). Compare also the example of Fakhr-ud-dīn Kotwāl, a noble of Balban, who used to maintain 12,000 Qur'ān-reciters and provided 1,000 dowries for poor girls every year. He is reported never to have slept on the same bed twice or worn the same suit of clothes a second time. (*Vide* B. 117-8.) Compare also the instance of 'Imād-ul-mulk, the muster-master of Balban, who entertained all his staff once a year when he gave them 20,000 Tankas collectively and a dress each. He further provided his staff every day with a mid-way meal when no less than 50 trayfuls of choicest dishes were served (*vide ibid.*, B. 115–7).

uniform rule of incomes. However, the few facts we have gathered will give some idea. Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī was pleased to appoint an old friend as his *vakīl-i-dar* and assigned for him the sum of 100,000 Jītals.[1] Under Muhammad Tughluq, the *Nāib* of the Sultān enjoyed the income of a province as large as 'Irāq ; the *wazīr* was paid a similar amount ; the *four ministers* received from 20,000 to 40,000 Tankas each, every year ; the *secretarial staff*, of about 300 persons, received the minimum salary of 10,000 Tankas per year, some of them getting as much as 50,000 Tankas ; the *Sadr-i-Jahān* and the *Shaikh-ul-Islām* were paid 60,000 a year ; even the *Muhtasib* or the Public Censor had a whole village assigned to him.[2] Now, let us examine some figures from the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq. The wazīr of the Sultān, the famous *Khān-i-Jahān* was paid a million and a half Tankas on the revenue-assignment and a separate personal allowance. He had a few thousand females in his *haram* and was prolific in children. The State assigned separate allowances to all his sons and sons-in-law whose number was unusually large.[3]

Let us now give some idea of the individual wealth of certain nobles. Among the nobles of Fīrūz Tughluq, Malik Shāhīn bequeathed a fortune of 50,000 Tankas, exclusive of valuables, jewels, and other property[4] ; Bashīr, another noble of Fīrūz, accumulated the vast sum of 160 millions.[5] At a later date, an Afghān noble named Miyān Muhammad Kālāpahār is reported to have possessed 300 maunds of gold.[6] The Hindu nobles of the Sultāns of Bengal were not very far behind. Hiranya and Govardhan Dās owned seven villages and more than a million Tankas in cash.[7] We have already referred to a minister of Mālwa and to Hemū, the Hindu General of the last Afghān monarch. The emoluments of other high officials and nobles of the kingdom can be imagined accordingly.[8] For the lesser nobility and for retired officials, a general rule was laid down that they were to be paid sufficient funds by the State to maintain them in dignity and honour.[9] Among other employees of the State the more important were minor military officers, the soldiers, and the revenue agents or *Muqaddims*.

We are not able to trace the pay of the various grades of military ranks. In one important case we know that when some aged military officers were dismissed by Sultān Balban, he assigned for them a pension or a monthly allowance of 40 to 50 Tankas.[10] The pay of the soldier was fixed by Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn at 234 Tankas per year or 19½ Tankas per month with an extra annual

---

1 B., 195.
2 Compare E.D., III, 578-579 for the account of *Masālik-ul-absār*.
3 Compare A., 297, 400. 4 A., 297. 5 *Ibid.*, 440.
6 T.S.S., 34*b*. 7 Sircar, 196. 8 Compare B., 294.
9 Compare Baranī, B., 292. 10 B., 62-3.

allowance of 78 Tankas in the case of a *do-aspa* soldier for the additional horse.[1] The soldier was always paid in cash, annually or in periodical instalments.[2] The *Muqaddim*, the village headman or the revenue agent occupied a semi-official position. He realized the land revenue for the government from his village and was paid a certain percentage of commission on the realized amount. He was also allowed certain other privileges in matters of personal cultivation. The gains of the Muqaddim could not be controlled by the administration. His clandestine and open appropriation of realized revenue in times of trouble, his realization of unjust and excessive taxes and perquisites and his financial gain from every period of administrative disorganization brought him a respectable fortune.[3] Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was greatly annoyed because like other big nobles the village headman had also cultivated a fondness for beautiful dresses, for Persian bows and arrows, and for going to the chase riding on a beautiful horse. In the interest of a strong and stable administration, the oppressive and dishonest tendencies of this class had to be curbed with a strong hand. But even when 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was anything but indulgent and kind towards them, he did not forget to fix the minimum standard of their life at a much higher level than that of the most prosperous among the peasants. He permitted them to retain 'four bullocks for purposes of cultivation, two buffaloes, two milking cows and twelve goats'.[4]

It would be advisable to give some idea of the life of a domestic servant or a slave in this place, as most of them were employed by government officials. We have already emphasized the fact that the amount of labour expended in the performance of personal services is an outstanding economic fact of the period. To illustrate from the life of the highest officials, we will give the example of the Muster-master of Sultān Balban who employed 50 to 60 domestics for the service of betel-leaves alone.[5] In one case, Amīr Khusrau informs us that a wet nurse was paid 10 Tankas for suckling a child.[6] We are better informed regarding the lives of domestic slaves. The slave of an ordinary person did not require any wages or payment whatsoever, as will appear from the discussion of the status of a slave earlier. The Sultān alone gave his slaves a recognized status and fixed their wages. Sultān Muhammad Tughluq is reported to have paid his slaves a daily ration of three *seers* of meat together with other ingredients and spices and a monthly ration of 2 *maunds* of wheat and rice. Besides these allowances, they were

---

[1] *Ibid.*, 303. [2] *Ibid.*, 319.

[3] B., 291 for an estimate of Baranī. [4] Compare Firishta, 191.

[5] Compare B., 117 referred to in a previous paragraph. Compare the remarks of Moreland for conditions under Akbar. India etc., 87.

[6] I.K., II, 152.

paid 10 Tankas per month and four suits of clothes every year.[1] Fīrūz Tughluq who was more solicitous for the welfare of his slaves paid them from 10 to 100 Tankas per month from the royal treasury according to arrangements.[2]

C. Trades and skilled professions.—We have spoken about the traders in the previous part. We will only observe in this connection that the state carefully protected the property and the rights of tradesmen within certain limits. It also appears that while the private property of the nobles was looked upon with suspicion, the possessions of the traders were scrupulously respected. In fact, Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq severely reprimanded the vile informers who maliciously directed the attention of the Sultān towards the growing wealth of some trader or banker with a view to appropriate it in part or whole.[3] It is no wonder then, that the class of merchants (vaisyas) as a whole were literate and prosperous, and held much land free of rent.[4]

Among skilled professions, that of the physician was fairly well established in all big towns and capital cities of Hindūstān.[5] Some of them who were employed in the royal household have been mentioned earlier. Any new discovery in medical treatment or the introduction of an improved method brought fame and a fair measure of wealth to the enterprising physicians.[6] We have already dealt with skilled workers in the previous chapter and noted the fact that information about their wages and the standard of their life is not available.

---

[1] Compare the version of *Masālik-ul-absār*, E.D., III, 577.

[2] Compare 'Afīf's accounts, A., 270.

[3] Compare Fīrūz Shāh's own declaration to this effect F., 15. Compare for instance B., 283 for the measures of confiscation of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī which definitely excluded the property and wealth of the Hindu bankers and Multānīs from their sphere of operation. Compare also the case of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq who transported the whole population of Delhi *en masse* to Deogīr and paid suitable compensation to people who sold their houses and property. The officials in this instance did not require any compensation. We believe these measures were designed in part to compensate people for the loss of independent professions and trades. Compare also Raverty, 729 for an armourer who offers his slave for sale (and not as a gift) to Sultān Iltutmish; I.K., 272 Amīr Khusrau's advice to his son on the choice of a career; P., 123–126 on the prospects of profit in trading. Compare also Macauliffe I, 23, 30 for the advice of Kālū the father of Nānak who insists that his son should take to trade.

[4] Compare Gupta, Bengal, etc., 157 for a characteristic prayer of the Vaisyas to Saraswatī the goddess of prosperity: 'The goddess Vānī is bountiful to us all, we can all read and write. We are the ornaments of a town. Decide to give us the best lands and houses and make them rent free'.

[5] Compare B.M.MS. of *Basātīn-ul-uns* for an interesting and detailed description of a Muslim physician of Delhi. Compare also Macauliffe I, 26 for the attendance of a physician when Nānak was supposed to be suffering from an ailment.

[6] Compare Sircar, 157, how some Hindu physicians had become famous by introducing the 'mercurial treatment prescribed in the *Tantras*'.

Among minor workmen, we know the wages of some who were employed in conveying people between Delhi and Fīrūzābād (a distance of 5 krohs or about 10 miles). The charge of riding a carriage came to 4 Jītals, of mules 6 Jītals, on horseback 12 Jītals and in a palanquin (pālkī) 25 Jītals.[1] It is not clear how much the animals cost to keep, or how many persons hired them on an average every month. Very low figures, which are clearly unreliable, are quoted from Bengal for such religious services among Muslims as the butchering of fowl or goats, and the performing of *nikāh* or marriage ceremony.[2]

II. Prices of commodities.

After enumerating some facts about the standard of earnings, it would be worth while to consider some facts about the prices of necessities. We have numerous references to prices of commodities in the accounts of contemporary chroniclers and other writers who speak of prices in times of famine and scarcity as well as those of the periods of over-production and therefore of exceptional cheapness. We will try to form some idea of normal prices by a comparison of rates from the reigns of a few monarchs which are not marked by any violent dislocation of economic life. However, one has to guard against emphasising the accuracy of the results so obtained or the inferences based on them. The means of communication and transport had a great influence on the variation of prices between years of good and bad harvests. The fact that a certain district was physically isolated and found no outlet for its surplus produce in times of plenty or facilities for supply in times of scarcity and famine, produced a standard of prices which were either much lower (in the case of abundance of harvests) or much higher (in scarcity and famine) than can be reached under modern conditions. There is a second consideration which is still more important. When prices are expressed, as is the Indian custom, in terms of the number of the seers sold for a Tanka or Jītal, it should not be forgotten that while money prices vary inversely with quantity prices, the percentage of the rise or fall of prices according to the two methods of notation is quite different. 'Thus' as the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Vol. III, 457) explains 'if the number of seers obtainable for a rupee (otherwise, the Tanka) is halved, i.e. decreased by 50 per cent., the money price is doubled, i.e. rises 100 per cent.; but if the quantity price becomes 50 per cent. more, that is cheaper, the corresponding money price is 33 per cent. lower'. After these considerations, we may further

---

[1] Compare A., 135-6; also Amīr Khusrau of 'earners of honest wages', M.A., 128.

[2] Compare Gupta, Bengal, etc., 91. The equivalents in present money values, as given by the author, do not give any correct idea of wages of those times.

add that our results only answer for Delhi with any confidence and for a small adjoining area. But it is worth while considering the question even within these limitations.

Let us begin with famine prices. Under Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī when there was a famine, corn was sold at one Jītal per seer.[1] Under Muhammad Tughluq, in exceptionally severe conditions, the price of corn rose to 16 and 17 Jītals per seer. As a result, people began to die of starvation.[2] Similarly when Fīrūz Tughluq attacked Sind and scarcity followed as a result, the price of corn rose to 2 and 3 Tankas per maund (or 3·2 and 4·8 Jītals respectively per seer).[3] On his subsequent attack on the same province the corn rose to 8 and 10 Jītals per 5 seers and the pulses to 4 and 5 Tankas per maund (or 6·4 and 8 Jītals per seer respectively).[4]

Let us now consider some records of exceptionally low prices. The reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī is an extreme but typical case in this respect. One *Bahlolī* bought 10 maunds of corn, 5 seers of oil and 10 yards of coarse cloth. The same coin (which was 1·6 Jītal in value) was sufficient to convey a person together with a horse and an attendant and to feed them on the way between Delhi and Agra. According to the chronicler 5 Tankas in those days were sufficient for the maintenance of a whole family and its retainers (who were quite a few then) for a whole month. Even then, the pay of the soldier ranged from 20 to 30 Tankas. The fall in food prices reacted unfavourably on gold and silver, which could be procured only with the greatest difficulty.[5] Gupta similarly gives instances of exceptionally low prices from Bengal, without, however, appreciating the necessary inference that they either indicate over-production or a decrease of outside demand and are certainly not normal. For instance, the whole marriage ceremony of Chaitanya was performed for a few cowries and the event was 'referred to as a magnificent instance of costly marriage by the poets who described it'.[6]

Barring these cases of an abnormal rise or fall in prices, let us examine the prices under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī which have been considered to represent the norm.[7] A comparison between the reigns of 'Alā-ud-dīn, Muhammad Tughluq and Fīrūz Tughluq will show that as a whole the prices of most of these articles as probably of all other goods in proportion, went up under Muhammad Tughluq, but again dropped to the previous level of 'Alā-ud-dīn under the latter's successor. Sugar, for some special reasons, does not follow this movement of prices.[8]

---

[1] Compare B., 212. [2] Compare, *ibid.*, 482. [3] Compare A., 200.
[4] *Ibid.*, 232-3. [5] Elliot, 292. Compare text T.D., 63.
[6] Compare the account in *J.D.L.*, 1929, 247-8.
[7] Compare the opinion of Thomas, 159.
[8] Compare for figures Thomas, 160, 260, and 283 respectively. Also Baranī and 'Afīf.

Commodities.	'Alā-ud-dīn.	Muhammad Tughluq.	Fīrūz Tughluq.
	(Prices in Jītals per maund.)		
1. Wheat	7½	12	8
2. Barley	4	8	4
3. Paddy	5	14	..
4. Pulses	5	..	4
5. Lentils	3	4	4
6. Sugar (white)	100	80	..
7. Sugar (soft)	60	64	120, 140.
8. Sheep (mutton) ..	10	64	..
9. Ghī (clarified butter) ..	16	..	100

Let us now examine the prices under 'Alā-ud-dīn which we have roughly considered as normal. We give them under three heads :—corn and articles of common use, cloth, and domestic slaves.

(*a*) *Corn etc.*—(Prices are given per maund). Wheat, 7½ Jītals ; Barley, 4 Jītals ; Paddy (or rice), 5 Jītals ; Vetch, 5 Jītals ; Pulses, 5 Jītals ; Lentils, 3 Jītals ; Sugar—white, 100 Jītals, soft, 60 Jītals, unrefined, 20 Jītals. Among other articles :—mutton, cost 10 to 12 Jītals per maund ; *Ghī* (clarified butter), from 16 to 26·3 Jītals ; sesamum, about 14 Jītals ; salt, 2 Jītals. Among animals :—camels could be purchased in two qualities at 12 and 24 Tankas each respectively ; the mating bull, at 3 Tankas ; beef cows, at 1½ to 2 Tankas each ; milking cows, from 3 to 4 Tankas ; and buffaloes, from 10 to 12 Tankas ; those for beef from 5 to 6 Tankas. Prices of other articles of consumption may be judged accordingly.[1]

(*b*) *Cloth* : 1. Muslins—of Delhi, cost 17 Tankas a piece, of Koil ('Alīgarh) 6 Tankas. The finest quality muslin cost 2 Tankas a yard.[2] Another variety called *Mushrū'* cost 3 Tankas per piece.

2. *Woollen stuffs.*—Blankets of coarse quality (usually with red borders) cost 6 Jītals and those of finer quality 36 Jītals each (*vide* B. MS., 153).

3. Among other costly materials—*Shīrīn* was sold in three varieties at 5, 3, and 2 Tankas per piece respectively ; similarly *Salāhiya* at 6, 4, and 2 Tankas.

4. Linen.—Ordinary linen was sold at 20 yards for a Tanka and another of a coarser quality at 40 yards a Tanka. A *chādar* or an over-all sheet was sold for 10 Jītals a piece.

(*c*) *Domestics and Slaves.*—The prices of slaves and concubines were uncertain, fluctuating according to the fortunes of wars and famines. A skilled slave may have cost anything.

---

[1] Compare Thomas, 159.

[2] Compare the estimate of Amīr Khusrau I.K., IV, 174.

No rule could be laid down in these cases. Under 'Alā-ud-dīn slaves of rare skill cost 120 Tankas. Badr Chāch, the poet, claims to have bought a slave named Gul-chehra (Rose Face) for 900 Tankas (*vide* Q., 39). *Masālik-ul-absār* is of opinion that in exceptional cases, slaves even cost as much as 20,000 Tankas and even bigger sums. (*Vide* E.D., III, 580.) For domestic service, under 'Alā-ud-dīn a female cost from 5 to 12 Tankas, a concubine, from 10 to 15 Tankas, and a becoming male slave, from 20 to 40 Tankas.[1] Later, in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, a female domestic cost 8 Tankas and a concubine, 15 Tankas.[2]

We have very few references to the normal prices in outlying provinces. The prices of those regions depended upon local conditions, and were not likely to be affected as a rule by the conditions prevailing in the *Doāb* area or the surroundings of Delhi. It is therefore very difficult to establish a relation between the prices of Delhi market and those of the provinces. Ibn Batūta who went to Bengal from Delhi quotes the prices as follows :—

1 chicken at 1 Jītal.
15 pigeons for 8 Jītals.
1 ram for 16 Jītals.
Excellent cloth, 30 cubits long, for 2 Tankas.
Rice for 8 Jītals per maund.
Goats for 3 Tankas each.
Sugar for 32 Jītals per maund.
Refined Sugar for 1 Tanka per maund.
Unrefined Sugar for 16 Jītals per maund.
Slaves for 8 Tankas.

It was a popular proverb among the foreign Muslim merchants (the Khorāsānīs) that 'Bengal is a hell full of good things', which indicates the extremely cheap cost of living and the unhealthy climate of the province.[3] Gulbadan Begum considered life very cheap at Amarkot in Rājputāna, considering that one rupee fetched four goats there.

III. Cost of Living.

There is almost no evidence from which to estimate the average cost of living. For one reason, among others, the standard of living differed so much from one class to another that it is impossible to work out an average. We have already observed the difference between the lives of the peasants and those of the upper classes, which was almost antipodal. Still it will help us to form at least a vague and tentative idea.

---

[1] Compare B., 314.
[2] Compare, E.D., III, 580.
[3] K.R., II, 142-3.
[4] G., 58.

The author of *Masālik-ul-abṣār*, on the authority of his informants cites the case of a person named Khojandī. Along with three other friends, Khojandī was served with a meal consisting of roast beef, bread and butter, the total cost of which came to one Jītal.[1] If we calculate on this basis, and take two meals a day as the diet of an average person it will work out at 15 Jītals per month. Putting 5 Jītals extra for the morning breakfast, the average dietary expenses of one person would come to 20 Jītals per month. If we make a similar allowance for clothes and other expenses, the maximum cost would not exceed one Tanka per month. A family consisting of a man, his wife, a servant, and one or two children could thus live on 5 Tankas for a whole month This, however, does not allow for social and economic variability and is a rough calculation.[2]

---

1 Compare Notices etc., 210-11.

2 The purchasing price of the Tanka is discussed in the Appendix A.

PART III: SOCIAL CONDITION.

Domestic Life.

1. *The Joint Family.*—In rural countries, the family is the major institution of domestic life; it ranks even above the church and the state. The Indians in this respect are still a 'family community'. For an Indian peasant his family has a special economic significance. Apart from serving as a home for his wife and his numerous children, his aged parents and his other relations, his family is an indispensable factor in his farm economy. Every single member of his family contributes in some measure to the process of agricultural production. We have dealt with this subject in an earlier chapter. The family tradition in Hindūstān has been a primary factor in carrying on the work of organized social life almost since the dawn of history. In course of time it has developed into what is commonly known as the Joint Hindu Family.[1] To describe its broad features, there is no individual property within the family, but only a right of maintenance from the coparcenary property which extends to all the male members of the family, their wives and children.[2] On marriage, the daughter becomes a member of her husband's family. If a male is adopted into the family, which is permissible and even encouraged under certain conditions, it has the effect 'of transferring the adopted boy from his natural family into the adoptive family'. And while he acquires all the rights of a son in the new family, he renounces all his rights in his natural family, including the right of claiming any share in the estate of his natural father or other natural relations or any share in the coparcenary property of his natural family.[3] This gives a fairly accurate view of a Hindu family of Hindūstān to-day, as probably it does of the past. The development of the joint family follows naturally from the conditions of life and production in an Indian village.[4] The Muslims brought with them their different laws of inheritance and divorce and an entirely different conception of family life.

---

[1] Compare Mulla, Hindu Law, 15, 'The Joint and undivided Hindu family is the normal condition of Hindu society. An undivided Hindu family is ordinarily joint, not only in estate, but in food and worship. The joint family system comes first in historical order. The law of inheritance is of later growth.'

[2] *Ibid.*, 428. [3] *Ibid.*, 398.

[4] Compare the Russian parallel of *verv* or joint family:—'. . . a Verv possessing its own territorial possession, exactly corresponds to a house-community, in which several persons, living under the same roof and owning land in common, are jointly answerable for the crimes and misdemeanours committed within the limits of their possessions'. Kovalevsky, 51.

In one respect Hindu and Muslim society agree, that is in giving a distinct preference to a male over a female. A son is always preferred to a daughter, and among the sons, a preference goes to the first-born.[1] Another common feature of both social systems is a certain love and regard for parents which is reciprocal; for the parents in their turn are very solicitous and unduly affectionate.[2] On the whole, the Indian family tradition develops the feeling of mutual dependence and joint relationship to a far larger extent than the small families of western countries. Possessing, as they do, no other but common property, and having an equal share in all the material enjoyments of fortune. the members of a joint family escape the disheartening influence of economic competition. The conditions of their life necessarily develop among them all the consciousness of mutual responsibility and the conviction that without one another they cannot overcome the dangers and difficulties of life.[3] On the other hand the joint family militates against the development of individuality. It curbs the spirit of enterprise and the feeling of self-reliance, so essential for the industrial progress of a country in modern times.[4]

2. *The Position of Woman.*—The functions and the position of a woman were distinctly subordinate and in the long run came to be understood as the service of the male and dependence upon him in every stage of life. As a daughter, a woman lived under the wardship of her father, as a wife under the tutelage of her husband, and as a widow (that is, if she was permitted to survive her husband) under the care of her eldest son.[5] In a

---

[1] The one supreme aim of Hindu life is the procreation of a male who alone is spiritually qualified to minister to his cares in the next world and save him from hell. The Qur'ān lays down (*vide* Holy Qur'ān, 4 : 34) that 'Men are the maintainers of women', etc. (Rodwell, Qur'ān, 415 : 'Men are superior to women on account of the qualities which God has gifted the one above the other'.) The eldest male member of the Hindu family is the *Kartā* or the manager of the joint property. The *Kanwar* or the eldest son of a Rajput chief usually inherits the family distinctions. In this connection it may be remembered that on the death of Miyān Hasan, the father of Sher Khān, one of his younger half-brothers named Sulaimān put on the head-dress of the deceased, whereupon one of his cousins snatched it from his head, warning him that his relations would not tolerate this appropriation of the privilege of the eldest son of a family.

[2] For the love of mother and father compare M.A., 119–21, the sentiments of Nānak, Macauliffe, I, 97-8.

[3] Compare the estimate of Kovalevsky on the Russian Joint Family, 60.

[4] Compare a modern criticism of the institution, K. M. Pannikar, 'Joint family and social progress'. Visva-Bharati, April, 1925. Also Kabir's opposition to it for different reasons. Shah, 89-90.

[5] Compare Mulla, Hindu Law, 371, for the position of a wife in Hindu system of marriage. Divorce is unknown to the general Hindu law, for a Hindu marriage is an indissoluble tie between the husband and the wife.

word her life was a state of perpetual wardship, and the social laws and customs stamped her with a sort of mental deficiency. When she was born, a girl appeared as an intruder on the scene, for, speaking from the religious view-point of the Hindus, the luckless daughter might not 'expiate the guilt fathers piled up in forgotten hours'.[1] She was therefore killed among some tribes even when in infancy.[2] If she was permitted to live she was given away to a husband in an indissoluble tie. If she died in pregnancy, she sometimes turned into the most dreaded of evil spirits, known as the *churail*, and haunted the neighbourhood. Death or self-immolation alone consigned her to oblivion. Thus, from her birth to her death, the position of a woman was most unpleasant. Religion and other ameliorating spiritual movements gave her all the consolation they could in reconciling her to her fate ; but they too carefully excluded her from every position of power, even from a place in their inner hierarchy.[3]

The main function of a woman, according to Hindu ideas, was to bring forth a male, and if she happened to give birth to a son, people honoured and looked after her. I have spoken of the love of children for parents. This was very real and a great consolation to the Indian mother. In other respects, the Indian woman was strictly confined to home and to domestic cares. All her dreams were concentrated on proving herself a devoted wife to her husband and in trying to please him.[4] The male, on the other hand, began to look upon her as a person of feeble brain and not to be trusted too far or in things that matter. He welcomed and appreciated her help in domestic affairs. There may have been a few exceptional women, but on the whole this estimate of the position of women holds good for Hindu society of the times.[5]

The Muslim tradition with regard to woman varied according to the country. The Turks in general gave their women a fair measure of freedom.[6] The Persian woman was

---

[1] Compare Lalla, Temple 230 ; compare Tod, II, 739-40 for female infanticide among the Rājputs.

[2] Compare, Crooke, Popular Religion, 194.

[3] Compare the interesting case of Mīrā Bāī who was not allowed by the Gosāīn of Brindāban to enter his presence. *Vide* Macauliffe VI, 353. Other references later in connection with *Sati*.

[4] Compare M.A., 192, 117. for her function of child-bearing and the respect paid to her.

[5] Compare an estimate of women in P., 256 ; P.B. for a characteristic confession of Rādhā about her own sex. 'I, a weak girl of scanty wisdom.'

[6] Compare an estimate of Tod about Rājput women, Vol. II, 744 :—'To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajputni must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life death is ready to claim her ; by the poppy at its dawn ; by the flames in riper years ; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period is her existence worth a twelve-months' purchase'. Compare also *ibid.*, I, 540 for the tragedy of Krishna Kunwārī where in one place the princess

improving her position as compared with her Indian sister.[1] In Hindūstān, the Muslims followed the older traditions of the ancient Persians, which put the woman in an inferior position.[2] With the growth of general sensuality and sexual indulgence, an unhealthy attitude developed on all sides. People began to put a very exaggerated value on the chastity of woman, exactly in the same measure as they encouraged its absence among men.[3]

---

summarizes the feminine position as follows: 'We are marked out for sacrifice from our birth; we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again; let me thank my father that I have lived so long . . .' Also Pero Tefur, 90 for an opinion and illustration. Compare K.R., 200-201 for Ibn Batūta's observations on the position of women among Turks.

[1] Compare, *ibid.*, K.R., I, 121, how ladies of Shīrāz met thrice a week to listen to the preacher in the principal mosque. Ibn Batūta thinks he never saw a greater assembly of women; compare Bretschneider, II, 287-8 for the women of Herāt who observed Pardah but were otherwise free. Similar estimate of Ibn Batūta about women in Medīna and in other places.

[2] Compare Rawlinson, Five etc., III, 222 on ancient Persia. 'It is particularly noticeable in the Persian sculptures and inscriptions that they carry to excess the reserve which Orientals have always maintained with regard to women. The inscriptions are wholly devoid of all references to the softer sex and the sculptures give us no representation of the female'. Compare A., 352 for the popular Persian tradition as reported in the name of Firdausi the classical Persian poet, that woman and dragon are dangerous creatures fit only to be destroyed. So that if a woman could not find her way to the grave-yard, she was to be strictly confined to the four walls of a house. Compare J.H. (f. 321) for a whole chapter illustrating the vices of the female sex. She was not only weak mentally but positively wicked by nature (*vide* B., 245; A., 254). Compare A.H., 67 for practical wisdom. A wife was not to be trusted in matters of consequence; and if it was unavoidable to consult her, the best course was to act contrary to her advice. Compare T.S.S., 15 where the reader is advised not to let his wife know of his property and his valuables. Compare D.R., 121 for the only valuable quality of a woman, as the instrument of sexual satisfaction. However, this unhappy human failing did not please the ascetic, who insisted that females were born and meant for hell, males alone for heaven. (*Vide* T., 26*b* where comparative figures of population in hell and heaven are also given.) The mystics went further and determined the sex of the powers of Good and Evil, which were of course male and female respectively (*vide* S.S.S., 87-8).

[3] For sensuality see chapter on 'Manners'. Here it will suffice to give a characteristic illustration. An extremely charming girl was once captured by the soldiers of Sher Shāh and presented to him. 'Take away this personification of evil', cried the monarch in horror, 'and send her to the camp of my enemy, Humāyūn'. This was done. Then Sher Shāh explained to his soldiers that if he kept such a pretty damsel with him he could do nothing except debauch himself, which could only ruin his political fortune. It is reported that when the girl was taken to Humāyūn, the Sultān was so much occupied with her and became so utterly indifferent to military operations that it led to his defeat by the wily Sher Shāh and cost him his throne (*vide* T.D., 75). For insistence on female chastity, compare the observations of Amīr Khusrau which may be summarized as follows. A girl who had any reflections cast on her chastity could never expect to find any respectable person to marry

These general facts will help to elucidate the background of the culture and traditions of women in Hindūstān. On the whole the women suffered from lack of association with men. As a daughter, the only associates of a girl were her girl playmates and her brother from among boys.[1] When she was married and became a wife, she lived in the company of her husband; but the presence of members of the joint family and perhaps a few other co-wives, discouraged the development of healthy love and feelings of companionship between the married couple. Once the personality of woman was suppressed, all chances of disagreement between the two sexes disappeared; the domestic life became happy and harmonious, and children were brought up with tenderness, care and love. People never failed to be courteous and chivalrous to a woman because of her helplessness and dependence on the male,[2] although it is doubtful if the same tenderness was shown in their dealings with domestic females and slaves.[3] In any case shedding of female blood was considered a heinous crime.[4]

The intellectual culture of women varied according to class. In villages where a woman was part of rural economy, there was no room for cultural growth in the ordinary sense. We have pointed out earlier how in Bengal, women were debarred from taking part in certain processes of weaving, although such restrictions did not apply to domestic work. On the other hand, the poorer class of peasant women had unfortunately to be too much occupied with domestic and farm work and with children to find leisure for intellectual occupations or even recreation. Their mental culture thus did not proceed beyond a very backward stage, with which students of folk-lore are quite familiar.

The upper classes lived a life of adventure and insecurity which stimulated the attainment of many arts and

---

her, even though the accusations were proved to be absolutely groundless. The poet therefore advises every honest girl to die rather than submit to the amours of a lover not her husband (*vide* M.A., 198). For a contrast compare the women of the Deccan. Barbosa II, 54, *ibid.*, 216 for *Devādāsis*.

[1] Compare the characteristic utterance of Lalla, 'Said I, no relation like a brother'. Temple, 232.

[2] Compare Tod, II, 711 for the deference and respect paid to a woman among the Rājputs; compare T.S.S., 37 for the chivalry of Sher Shāh towards the ladies of the Mughal haram after the defeat of Humāyūn at Chausa.

[3] Compare instances of ill-treatment of domestics in F.F., 170.

[4] Compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, 279 for an interesting case of Fīrūz Tughluq who finds an excuse for invading the kingdom of Sultān Ilyās Shāh of Bengal. According to him, among other crimes the latter was guilty of shedding female blood; whereas, as Fīrūz Tughluq piously postulates, 'according to all creeds and usages, no woman, even an infidel, can be slain'.

sciences.[1] Dewalrānī, Rūpāmatī, Padumāvat, and Mīrā Bāī are good examples of Hindu culture. It is reported by Hājī Dabīr that one of the reasons why Muhammad Tughluq attacked the Qarājal hills (Kumāon) was the desire to possess the women of those parts, who were famous for their accomplishments.[2] That Sultān Razīya could occupy the throne of Delhi proves that the Muslim aristocracy and royalty did not neglect to give their daughters an excellent education and training. Under the Mughals a healthier tradition came to prevail among the Indian aristocracy. We learn from Gulbadan Begum that the ladies of the royal *haram* of the Emperor Humāyūn used to mix freely with their male friends and visitors. They sometimes went out in male garments, played polo, and applied themselves to music. They were also well versed in the use of pellet bow and other practical arts.[3] Comparative freedom gave Mughal women a greater sense of their dignity and honour and the mothers of the famous Mughal emperors were as great in their own sphere as their sons were in theirs.[4] There is almost no information about women in the lower walks of life, but probably they approximated to the standards of women higher than themselves in status. We have already referred to the fact that some of the concubines were very talented and skilled.

3. *The Pardah and Social Intercourse between the Sexes.*— We will refer now to the institution of *Pardah* in Hindūstān and try to explain its development. The term '*Parda*' means a curtain or something to screen off; popularly, it applies to the 'veil'. When applied to a woman, the term signifies her seclusion in a separate building or in a segregated apartment or part of the building, otherwise called the *Haram*. The term *haram*, as we pointed out earlier, apart from being applied to the place of residence, also signifies the totality of the female inmates

---

[1] For the Ksatriya woman, the story of the love and adventures of Padumāvat in Jāisī's famous book. Compare two instances of the courage and valour of Afghān women. On one occasion they successfully defended the fort of Delhi in male costumes and faced constant showers of arrows from the enemy. They stubbornly resisted until their husbands and male relations came to the rescue. (*Vide* T.D., 96 for details). When the Niyāzīs were reduced to extremities in the Kashmīr hills, their women folk girded themselves with bows and arrows, swords and lances and fought their enemies, the hill-men of Kashmīr, until at last they were buried under the hail of stones that were showered on them from above. (*Vide* M.T., I, 388).

[2] Compare Z.W., III, 877.

[3] Compare the account of Gulbadan.

[4] Compare for instance the story of Hamīda Bānū, the mother of Akbar. It is reported that when Humāyūn offered to marry her, the lady refused to consider the proposal of a monarch or in fact, of anyone who occupied too elevated a social position for her own rank. 'I would rather marry a man' she said 'whose lapel I can hold than one whose pedestal I cannot reach', meaning that she insisted on equality of treatment. (*Vide* G., 53.) For other examples, Nūrjahān, Mumtāz Mahal, etc. are familiar.

who are thus excluded from the view of the public. A girl begins to observe this seclusion when she approaches the age of puberty, or slightly earlier, and she adheres to the custom throughout the prime of her life, until she is past the age of child-bearing. When she grows old, she need not continue this seclusion, but by that time, an age-long observance of this practice makes it more comfortable for her to live in the familiar surroundings of the *haram* than go out in public. It should be noted that the term *Haram*, during our period, includes the female slaves, the eunuchs and other attendants who were charged with the service of supervision of the female quarters.

A number of contrary theories have been advanced as to the origin of *Pardah*. It is held by some that Muslims are responsible for the growth of the custom, and that before Islām, the women of Hindūstān went about freely.[1] Others hold that the custom of veil (meaning Pardah) is of immemorial antiquity, and the theory has been supported by many illustrations from ancient Hindu social history.[2] These opinions are not quite so contrary as they appear at first sight. In fact, they are complementary. There was a partial exclusion of women in ancient India and the women observed a certain 'veil' (or what even now goes under the name of *ghoonghat*) but the present elaborate and institutionalised form of *Pardah* dates from the time of the Muslim rule. Many factors have made possible the development of the present form of the *Pardah*, the most important being the status of a woman in Hindu society, her functions and the ideas on sexual morality.[3] We know that the exclusion of women from male society was general in Hindu India and the home was their sphere. Muslims brought very exaggerated ideas of class and racial exclusion and of aristocratic and royal behaviour, which took root in a congenial soil. To all these was added a practical reason—the growing sense of insecurity which attended the inroads of invaders, especially the Mongols, which lasted for more than two centuries.

Thus the position remained somewhat as follows during the Muslim period:—the vast masses of peasant women did not wear any shrouds or specially made veil and did not live in seclusion; they moved the lapel of their *sārī* or other head-dress slightly over their face when they passed a stranger; their arms and their face were otherwise quite exposed. The Indian peasant of our age could not afford to marry many wives and his wife

---

[1] Compare Miss Copper, 102.

[2] Compare the opinion of Mr. Mehta in an article on Pardah in *The Leader*, Allahabad, May, 1928.

[3] Among other minor factors, compare the raids of the neighbouring Muslims on Hindu women. There are numerous examples, such as the romance of Rūpāmatī and Bāz Bahādur. See also Tod, II, 952. There was also the fear of the ruler or official demanding a girl for a wife as in the instance of Fīrūz Tughluq's father. Compare also Tod, II, 966.

usually had no rivals in her home. She was physically well built and morally strong and gave no cause for jealousy or undue care on the part of her husband. In short, a monogamous, healthy and free life is the only life a peasant has learnt to live in Hindūstān.[1] The higher classes observe Pardah as far as their means allow them, for the women can dispense with domestic work. Pardah is a measure of respectability a ong higher classes so that the higher the rank, 'the smaller and higher are windows and the more secluded the women'.[2] It is needless to add that conditions in India are swiftly changing under the force of new circumstances.

We have numerous historical records of the *Pardah* during our period. The custom of '*ghoonghat*' among Hindus and the lower classes of Muslims is described by Malik Muhammad Jaisī, Vidyāpati, and others who write about the life of common people.[3] The other, more developed form of *Pardah* with its elaborate code of rules, came into existence almost from the beginning of the Muslim rule in Hindūstān. Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh relates the amusing story of the Hindu slave girl of Bahrām Shāh, the Ghaznawid ruler of Lahore. She fell ill and had to be treated by a physician who insisted on examining her person and feeling her pulse. This was reported to the monarch who was very much upset at the situation, and only after many convincing arguments did he agree to the physician's viewing her face and arms 'if they were not too far exposed to his view'.[4] The example of Razīya is well-known and we mention it only to prove the existence of Pardah in the royal *haram*.[5] Before the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq no attempt was made to enforce the *pardah* on the subjects of the kingdom. Fīrūz Shāh was the first monarch to forbid the visit of Muslim women to mausoleums outside the city of Delhi, as, according to him, Muslim Law (Sharī'at) forbade such outdoor movements.[6] Nothing is said about the movement of women within the city; probably no restriction was put on them within these bounds. By this time the custom had spread

---

[1] Compare the opinion of F. W. Thomas, 72. 'The seclusion of women has been copied from the Muhammadans, but only by the richer classes. Among the poor it is quite unknown'. Compare Abu'l Fazl. A.A., II, 182. 'Except when the wife is barren, the husband (among Hindu masses) does not marry again. Similarly a man does not marry when he is past fifty years of age'.

[2] Compare Cooper, 121.

[3] Compare P.B., LIX; Macauliffe, VI, 347.

[4] A.H., 20.

[5] Compare the references in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* and Amīr Khusrau about Sultāna Razīya. Raverty 638, 643; D.R., 49. Razīya broke the custom when she laid aside her female dress and 'issued from the seclusion'. Amīr Khusrau does not altogether approve of her indelicate boldness.

[6] Compare Fīrūz Shāh's own estimate of his measure F., 8-9.

into outlying provinces.[1] A respectable lady therefore went about in closed litters (*dolīs*) and accompanied by male attendants.[2] Poorer or non-aristocratic women probably went about 'wrapped up in long garments covering their heads' or what is now known as *Burqa*.[3] Heavily covered and even locked litters were used by the ruling chiefs and the higher nobles[4] for their women. The Hindu nobility was not slow in adopting the ways of the Muslim rulers.[5]

Mention may be made in this connection of the relation of *Pardah* to rules of marriage in Hindu and Muslim society. While a woman is guarded only in a general way against social intercourse with those men with whom matrimony is forbidden, greater force is used where the degree of relationship between the man and the woman can warrant a possibility of future matrimony. The original spirit of the Hindu and Muslim laws offers a wide field of choice and implies a very great degree of liberty in the relations of the parties to a marriage. A Hindu usually marries outside his own sub-caste but within the larger caste. So that while there is no liberty in social intercourse with the girls of the same sub-caste, there is greater liberty outside this limit. Intermarriage with other major castes is forbidden so strongly that it reacts rather favourably than otherwise on the relations of persons of different castes and sexes.

Muslim marriage similarly was originally designed as essentially a civil contract between the parties to a marriage. Beyond a few specified degrees of prohibition, namely consanguinity and affinity, fosterage and some other special cases, the Qur'ān gave perfect liberty in choosing a husband or a wife. Persons within these prohibited degrees are called *Mahram* or 'Forbidden' to one another. All others are called *Nā-mahrams* or those with whom marriage is not forbidden. We have referred to what was known as the doctrine of *Kafu'* or 'status' which made it compulsory to marry persons of the same social status, even of the same school of religious thought. Similar ideas and customs soon began to circumscribe the sphere of liberty.

We have referred to the power of the master of a slave which extended to the right of conferring a slave in marriage. These powers of the head of an establishment extended in varying

---

[1] Compare A., 118 for the 'veiled' and 'shrouded' women inside the Ikdāla Fort in Bengal wailing for mercy in front of the besieging army of Fīrūz Tughluq.

[2] Compare T.F., I, 422.

[3] Compare Barbosa, I, 114 for the women of the Gujarātī Baniā class.

[4] Compare the instances of slave girls of Tātār Khān being conveyed in closed and locked conveyances. *Vide* A., 393-4; Timur carrying about his *haram* in covered litters. *Vide* M., 289.

[5] For Hindu nobility, compare Sircar 190 for the wives of Rājā Rudra Pratāp of Purī (Orissa) coming to visit Chaitanya in 'covered litters'.

degrees over its members. The patriarchal idea permeated the whole social system and superseded the original spirit of the laws and customs of matrimony. The master of a slave had his prototype in the Sultān in relation to his household (which we have described earlier) and in a father in relation to his children. Under these conditions entirely new meanings were given to the marriage laws. The original liberty of choice began to react in adverse proportion to the degree of relationship, until finally the social intercourse of the sexes came to be confined purely to those who were *Mahrams* or of the same *Gotra*, i.e. who could never marry under any circumstances.

We consider this digression helpful in appreciating the exact character of the restrictions which were put on the intercourse of the two sexes. The underlying idea behind the institution of *Pardah* is the exclusion of *Nā-mahrams* (or those who can legally marry) from each other. The fear always lurked in the minds of elderly patriarchs that people of opposite sexes outside the degrees of prohibition might go wrong through mutual contact, and it might further lead to their contracting a marriage tie independent of the will of the elders and perhaps prejudicial to the bigger interests of the joint family and the village community or the aristocratic family. We will speak of the morals and manners of the people of the age in a different place, but it may be noted here that much emphasis was put on the spotless moral character of a woman, and what was of still greater importance, the public reputation of a girl for chastity. This was identified in the long run with living in Pardah and inside the *haram*, that is, without any possibility of meeting a *Nā-mahram*. Under the prevailing social conditions a husband was far from giving any liberty of social intercourse to his wife, and was most unlikely to marry one who had enjoyed such liberty, thereby damaging her moral reputation.[1]

No attempts were made at reforming the *Pardah* until the close of the period, under the force of new religious movements. Some coastal towns in Gujarāt were not affected by this popular

---

[1] Compare for the object of protecting *Nā-mahrams* from one another, the following. Muhammad Tughluq was very scrupulous when he entered his *haram* that his eye did not fall on a 'Nā-mahram' (B., 506). Compare A., 393-4 that the slave-girls of Tātār Khān, a noble of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq, were carried in closed and locked conveyances lest the eye of a *Nā-mahram* fell on them'.

Compare Z.M., 69 how Saint Hamadānī fears the places where people of both sexes can meet together. Compare M.A., 195 for an advice of Amīr Khusrau who argues as follows. If a woman does not want to expose herself to the criticism of people she had better abstain from the company of a *Nā-mahram*. If she wanted to be perfectly free from any suspicion or criticism, she had better observe Pardah. In another place, he concludes that female chastity can only exist with a total absence of relations with the outer world. (*Vide* I.K., II, 317.) Compare the remarks of Barbosa on the jealousy of Muslim husbands, Vol. I, 121.

custom and in any case not to the same degree as the inland towns. This healthy influence was obviously due to contact with foreign people through international commerce.[1]

4. *Domestic Events*.—The most conspicuous events of domestic life, particularly in a rural community, were naturally the various stages of growth in the life of a person, namely birth, adolescence, puberty, and death, together with the various customs elaborated around them. All these customs had been elaborated with scrupulous regard to every detail. Religious emotion found its best expression in them. Society even judged of the respectability of a person by the amount of care and attention he gave to the fulfilment of these social and religious rites.

To begin with: the birth of a child in the family was an event of great importance. Wise and sophisticated persons may have given greater importance to the mysteries of death and the next life, but for healthier minds a new arrival in this world alone deserved to be celebrated.[2] A number of tiny cradles were usually prepared in advance to receive the small guest.[3] If it was a male child there was a great stir in a Hindu home. The father rushed to wash himself with fresh water and to offer prayers to the spirits of his forefathers and the guardian deities of the family. After that he took out a gold ring, dipped it in butter and honey, and put it in the mouth of the infant.[4] The all-wise Pandit was, meanwhile, recording the hour and other details about the birth of the child with a view to cast a horoscope (*Janmapatra*). In case he forgot to record the precise moment of birth, he carefully scrutinised the body-marks of the child to infer the particular stellar conjunction (*lagan*) under which it was born.[5] After these preliminaries were finished, rejoicings and festivities started, the women of course leading them. An offering (*nisār, utārā*) was made for the health of the infant, and handsome gifts were distributed among all and sundry, rich and poor, nobles and commoners.[6] After

---

1 Compare the protest of Saint Pīpā (born 1425 A.D.) against the veiling of wives of a certain Rājā of Toda (on the Indian frontier) named Sūr Sen when they visited the saint (*Vide* Macauliffe, VI, 347). Compare for the comparative freedom of social intercourse in Gujarāt, the account of Barbosa. In one place he says that the women of Rānder went about during the day doing all their indoor and outdoor business 'with their faces uncovered as among Europeans'. In Khambāyat he finds that though the women observed *Pardah* they frequently visited their friends and acquaintances in luxurious coaches and were given ample freedom of social intercourse within the limits of the Pardah. (*Vide* Barbosa, II, 148, 141).

2 Compare the view of Akbar M.T., II, 305-306.

3 Compare the description of Amīr Khusrau in K.K., 756.

4 Compare A.A., II, 188.

5 Compare a description of Malik Muhammad Jāisī in P., 26, 118.

6 Compare various descriptions. K.K., 657-658, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* (MS.), 196.

the period of ceremonial impurity (*sotak*) was over among the Muslims, the rite of '*Āqīqah* or sacrifice was performed.[1]

Then the eventful question of giving a name to the child was considered. Due consideration was paid to the horoscope of the child and the first letters of the favourite stars. The auspicious names were usually considered to be those which did not exceed four letters.[2] Among Muslims, care was taken (as by the ancient Persians) to avoid the names used by idolators, simple names such as *Ahmad* and '*Alī* being recommended.[3] To avoid fascination or the attack of an evil spirit on the child, the date, the hour of birth and the original name based on the calculations of the horoscope were kept a guarded secret, especially in royal families.[4] After the expiry of the third month, but not before, the child was allowed to be exposed to the full gaze of the sun. It was not yet safe to take it out of the house. In the fifth month, the right lobe of the child was bored. In the sixth month, if the child was a male, they surrounded him with sweets and fruits and left him to choose for himself. All this, of course, had a secret meaning and divined his future destiny in the world. Sometimes later, in accordance with the period prescribed by family tradition, the ceremony of tonsure (now called *mūndan*) was celebrated.[5] There were other ceremonies which were peculiar to various races, classes or castes.[6]

The education of the child received particular attention. He was put to school or rather under a tutor with picturesque ceremonies. At the age of five the Hindu child was placed in the charge of a *Guru* or spiritual preceptor who looked after him until he entered the next stage of life.[7] The Muslim tradition was more precise in fixing the day of completion of 4 years, 4 months, and 4 days, for the inauguration of *Bismillāh khānī* or otherwise the ceremony of putting to school (*maktab*). At an hour fixed in consultation with an astrologer, the child took his first lesson from the teacher.[8] Usually in the seventh year, a Muslim child was circumcised and the occasion was celebrated with great rejoicings and entertainments, according

---

[1] Compare Ross, Feasts, 98 for the modern observance.

[2] Compare A.A., II, 188; *ibid.*, 282 for an illustration of the grandson of Abu'l Fazl who was named by Akbar.

[3] Compare Huart, 162 for ancient Persians; T., 11*b*.

[4] Compare Crooke, Popular Religion, 281 and illustrations.

[5] Compare A.A., II, 188; compare T., 11*b* for Muslim disapproval of leaving a lock of hair unshaved on the head; compare Ross, Festivals, 109 for a modern description.

[6] Compare for instance a ceremony described by Abu'l Fazl peculiar to the Mughals. When the child had just begun to stand on his legs, the father or the eldest male guardian was asked to strike him with his turban, so that the child fell down. *Vide* A.N., I, 194.

[7] Compare A.A., II, 188.

[8] For the Muslim tradition compare A.N., I, 270; Ross, Feasts, 99, for a present-day description.

to the means of a family.[1] The last important ceremony in the life of a Hindu child, if he belonged to the three upper castes of the 'twice-born', was that of *Upanayana* or the tying of the triple sacred thread. This was usually performed at the completion of the ninth year and symbolized the passing of childhood.[2] Both daughter and son were now preparing for the next stage of marriage and entering life. While the son usually welcomed the prospect, it was very depressing for the daughter, for whom the days of freedom were numbered. She therefore made the best of her time by playing with other maidens and enjoying the hospitality of the paternal roof. His or her birthday continued to be celebrated annually by the tying of the picturesque knot in silk, the ceremony of *sāl-girah*.[3]

(*a*) *Marriage*.—There was no fixed limit for the age of marriage. Both Hindus and Muslims favoured an early age for boys and girls.[4] Akbar wished to interfere with these conditions and fixed the minimum age limit at 16 years for boys and 14 for girls. It is difficult to say how far his enactments were carried out.[5] Conferring their children in marriage and supervising the attendant customs and ceremonies was the privilege of the parents, especially the father.[6] The marriage of their children involved many delicate and complicated problems, for instance, those of family status, ancestral rites and traditions, and the social honour of the parties. The parents usually carried out their responsibilities most scrupulously in every

---

1 Compare T., 27*b*, for the view of Yūsuf Gadā; compare A.N., I, 248, for the circumcision of Akbar and the attendant rejoicings; compare Blochmann, I, 207, how Akbar prohibited circumcising before the age of 12 and even then left it to the option of the grown up boy.

2 Compare A.A., II, 188; compare Macauliffe, I, 16-17, for Nānak's investment. Compare Ross, Feasts, 61, for the sacred thread. 'The sacrificial thread or *vajnopavitam* consists of three strands of cotton, each strand formed by three or nine threads, the cotton gathered from the plant by the hand of a Brahman and carded and spun by persons of the same caste. It is hung on the left shoulder and falls on the right hip.'

3 Compare Ross *ibid*., 111, for a modern description. Compare P., 96, for some characteristic sentiments of a girl on the prospect of marriage; *ibid*., 171, the reception of the news of *Gaunā* by Padumāvat.

4 Compare Macauliffe, I, 18-19. Nānak was 14 when he was married. The Hindu girl was not to be below eight years on marriage. For Muslim parallel: compare Huart, 161, for ancient Persian tradition of marrying boys at fifteen. Compare D.R., 93, how Prince Khizr Khān and Dewalrānī were married when they were 10 and 8 respectively. Compare also A., 180 for early marriages in Muslim families under Fīrūz Tughluq. Compare F.F., 135, where the legal compendium lays down the age for marrying girls at 9. Compare for interesting mediæval English parallels, Salzmann, 254: 'It was not unusual for parents to arrange marriages for their children while they were still infants; even the actual marriage ceremony was sometimes performed when the bride and bridegroom were so young that they had to be carried to the church and could not repeat all the words of the service'.

5 Compare A.A., I, 201; Blochmann, I, 195.

6 Compare ancient parallel tradition in Persia, Huart, 163.

detail. Marriage was more a family question than a personal concern of the marrying couple.

It is difficult to give a comprehensive description of marriage ceremonies, considering that so many weighty social considerations made it the most conspicuous event of domestic life.[1] A stage was reached in marriage negotiations when the parties agreed to the wedding of two children, the future bride and bridegroom. This agreement was celebrated with suitable ceremonies and was called *Tilaka* or *mangnī*, that is, betrothal ceremony. After this formal recognition, a date was fixed for marriage (the *lagan*) and elaborate preparations began. Invitations were sent out through the local barber or through special messengers to friends and relations. A *mandapa* was constructed in the house of the bride.[1] Wedding wreaths of flowers or festoons of mango leaves were hung before the doors. Kindly neighbours also decorated their door-ways with these wreaths (or *bandarwārs*) to express their joy and good-will. The evenings became more lively because the whole population of a village (or in the case of towns, of quarters or *mahallas*) began to join the *suhāg* songs at the house of the bride or started singing these popular wedding songs in their own homes on their own account. All sorts of sober and humorous rites and numerous superstitious ceremonies filled the programme of the bride and bridegroom, who on his part was making preparations to start for the wedding ceremony. Similar arrangements (except the erection of a mandapa) marked the house of the bridegroom.

When all the members of a party had gathered and other necessary preparations were finished, the bridegroom started for the bride's home accompanied by a band and music and a gay riotous crowd intent on making itself cheerful and agreeable. They undertook this journey in their newly polished, covered and decorated conveyances and wore their brightest costumes. Their rows of carriages and horsemen were often recognized by wayside inhabitants by the light of the torches that preceded them at night or the cloud of dust that followed them by day. When they arrived within hail of the bride's village or town, they were greeted by the bride's people and conducted to her house. Betel-leaf and sweet drinks were offered to them, and they were taken to the main hall of the building to take rest on rich carpets in cool and beautiful surroundings after a tiresome journey. Meanwhile, finishing touches were being given to the preparations for the wedding. *Duār Pūjā* (door worship)

[1] A *mandapa* in rural areas at present is usually a tree-trunk. Compare Grierson for present conditions in Bihar. Bihar Peasant Life, 374–86. In the description of Malik Muhammad Jāisī the usual tree-trunk studded with valuable stones and covered with green twigs is surrounded by pillars of sandal-wood and covered with a roof from which globes of talc were hung, and a scarlet cloth was spread on the floor. Probably a platform was raised under this structure.

and other ceremonies were performed. The mark of the *Swastika* and other figures were put on the floor; the wedding robe was sent to the bridegroom; clothes, money, and other gifts were kept in readiness for the impending ceremony. At a pre-arranged hour, the blushing bridegroom and the shy maiden appeared on the scene and sat on the newly raised platform within the *maṇḍapa*. It was the signal for the commencement of the wedding ceremonies. Probably the father of the bride performed a ceremony signifying the formal gift of his daughter to the bridegroom, known as the ceremony of *kanyādān*. The couple had the hems of their garments knotted together by the women to signify their perpetual and inseparable union, this being the ceremony of '*Gānṭh*'. At the end of these came the final ceremony of the 'seven steps' in circumambulation round the sacred fire. The Purohits started the chanting of sacred texts and the womenfolk their wedding songs, while the couple and the bride's nearest relations were completing their rounds. The final and the eventful step made the bridegroom and the bride husband and wife before God and man in perpetuity.

The rest of the ceremonies were of a propitiatory and secondary nature. *Nichhāvar* or *nisār* was offered for the health of the married couple. Among the Muslims it consisted sometimes of almonds and sugar-candy, and the crowd carried home this token of good fortune. The ceremonies may have differed in details with localities and provinces but in substance the above outline holds good for any marriage ceremony of Hindūstān.[1] The wedding festivities lasted for any number of days according to the means of the bride's people and according to their mutual arrangements. The minimum stay for the bridegroom's party was fixed for a day and the maximum for ten days. On the eve of departure of the bridegroom and his bride, many other ceremonies were performed which appear to be interesting survivals of an earlier date. The bridegroom and his friends had to fight their way to capture the bride; in some places the bridegroom had to bribe

[1] Compare Jāisī's description in P. (hin), 124–6; Shah, 120, and Grierson for modern parallel. For provincial peculiarities, compare Barbosa, I, 116-17, how in Gujarāt the married couple were taken to the temple where both of them fasted all day before the idol of Mahāvīra(?). Other people kept on entertaining them with fireworks, songs and other amusements. Compare also, for Muslim marriage D.R., 160, and especially for *Nichhāvaṛ* ceremony, *Fiqh Firūz Shāhī*, 203, and Grierson—Bihar Peasant Life, where it appears that except for the substitution of popular Muslim saints and the ceremony of *Nikāh*, the Muslim marriage did not differ from the Hindu system. Compare also Ibn Batūta's account K.R., II, 47–9, where it clearly appears that Muslims borrowed almost all ceremonies and customs from Hindus. Compare the estimate of F. W. Thomas, 77, for Hindu influence on Muslim marriages: 'Whereas the law permits to the faithful as many as four wives, and provides facilities for divorce on easy terms, monogamy is in India the prevailing rule and divorce is almost unknown. A second trace of Hindu influence is to be found in the rarity of the re-marriage of widows.'

the maidens to restore a stolen article or to let him pass the gates with his bride. A big dowry was provided for the bride, which accompanied her. It was customary in some cases to give to the bridegroom a few maids who became his property. After some more picturesque ceremonies and humorous and lively songs, the party was allowed to depart with the bride.[1] If the bride was too young for the consummation of marriage, she returned to her parents after a short time and the final *Rukhsat* or *Gaunā* was deferred to a later date.[2] Various rites, ceremonies, and courtesies continued to be observed for a very long ime afterwards, but the great event of domestic importance was over, the daughter had formally and legally passed into another family and she was no more a part of her family or even master of herself. She belonged to her husband and abided by his will. If she was married into an aristocratic family, she was probably confined to a *haram*, where her intercourse with the rest of the world was severely curtailed for the rest of her life.[3]

(*b*) *Death and after.*—A person's death was the turning point of this life, when, although he did not cease to exist, he passed from one life into another. Picturesque rites attended his death, to be followed by posthumous ceremonies. When a Hindu was about to die, people hastened to lay his body on the floor, the priests began chanting *mantras* and the near relations distributing gifts to the poor and the needy, to ease the passage of his soul into the next world. The floor had been plastered with cowdung and covered with *kusa* grass, over which the corpse was laid, with the head resting in a northerly and the feet in a southerly direction, the face downwards. If sacred Ganges-water was available, some drops were poured oyer the corpse; a cow was offered as a gift to a Brahman; some leaves of Tulsī were put over the dead man's chest and the caste-mark on his forehead. After these preparations, the body was put on a bier and was ready for disposal. The orthodox theory recommended the throwing of the body of a Brahman into water, the cremation of a Kshatriya and the burial of a Sudra.[4] But during our period, the burning of Hindu dead bodies appears to be universally popular. In fact, if a person had expired at a distance from his home and relations, a commemoration cremation was held, in which a deer hide, a bamboo, some flour,

---

[1] Compare Ibn Batūta, II, 47–9. For the gift of maids compare K.K., 370; compare also Tod, II, 730-1 for the dower of *Divādhāris* in Rājasthān, the handmaids who often become the concubines of the bride-groom chief. Also *J.D.L.*, 1927, 2-3.

[2] Compare P. (hin), 281, for an illustration.

[3] Compare for instance the description of a *haram* in T.D., 37, where it is reported that a message sent to a lady inside the *haram*, had to pass at least three intermediaries before it reached her.

[4] Compare Macauliffe, I, 181; also Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, 395.

a few leaves and a cocoanut were consigned to the flames symbolizing probably the remains of the deceased.[1] The sons, brothers, friends, and pupils of the deceased shaved their heads and beards and conveyed the corpse, which was sometimes dressed in the usual costume the deceased had been fond of wearing, to the crematorium where it was burned with appropriate ceremonies. After the cremation, the bones were collected in a ewer or a deer-skin and sent to be thrown if possible into the Ganges.

Many superstitious rites were performed before and after the removal of the corpse from the house, to make sure that the spirit of the dead man did not return.[2] For about ten days (the exact number varying according to caste rules) the house was considered to be ceremonially impure. No food was cooked or fire burnt in the hearth and the relations provided the family with subsistence. The family slept on the floor on a bed of leaves. The dead man was not neglected; in fact, during this period many ceremonies were performed to help the disembodied spirit in obtaining a spirit form or *preta* body which carried it to its further destination. For this purpose, the nearest relation, who had lighted the fire for the cremation of the dead body, lived only on rice pudding these ten and two succeeding days, thus imparting vigour and strength to the new spirit body of the deceased. At the end of this period, on the thirteenth day, the soul was sufficiently invigorated to undertake the journey. At different intervals during the course of one year, *Śrāddha* ceremonies helped to provide it with further sustenance until at last the soul of the deceased had assumed another body and was re-incarnated in the world according to *Karma*, the 'Law of the Deed'.[3]

The occasion of death was generally used for the demonstration of grief by mourning friends and relations. We have already spoken of the deep-seated love of a mother in Hindūstān. If the father or the head of a family died, the grief was perhaps even more violent and real, for in most cases, the whole of a big joint family depended on him for sustenance and support. Thus on occasions of funerals, the pent-up emotions of the whole family and particularly the grief of the women expressed itself in wild outbursts, and the wailing cries created quite an

---

1 Compare the account of Ibn Batūta quoted later.

2 Compare for instance, the usual practice of opening a window in a wall to allow the soul to go out, and closing it immediately after, so that the soul may not find her way back. Crooke, Popular Religion, 236-7, and illustrations; also Macauliffe, VI, 385.

3 Compare A.A., II, 192 for an account; also Ross, Feasts, 53, for modern survivals. Compare also Grierson's description of *dūdhī*, *dīyābāñ* and *tilañjar deb* in the same connection. Bihar Peasant Life, 393-4. Compare Frampton, 139, for the Muslim custom of abstaining from cooking in the home of the deceased.

uproar. The ceremonies of mourning went on for days, even for months and in exceptional cases for a whole year. Men were not slow in demonstrating their grief, especially if the deceased was the head of the State.[1] The death of a Sultān was officially mourned for three days in the kingdom. His successor appeared in a mourning dress, usually blue in colour, and the royal parasol (*chatr*) was carried half-bent over the royal funeral.[2] We have already said something about the charitable endowments for the spiritual benefit of deceased Sultāns and the appointment of the reciters of Qur'ān. We may add in this connection that the grave of the Sultān was no less an object of awe and reverence than his throne in his lifetime. It reflects curiously on the religious beliefs of the period but the fact remains that the State officially recognized certain animist practices. For instance the personal guards, the elephants and the stallions of the late Sultān were brought to pay homage to his tomb, exactly as was done in his lifetime. His shoes were placed near the grave and the visitors paid their homage to these shoes as the symbols of his late Majesty.[3]

Among other posthumous ceremonies for the dead, the Muslims gave a particular importance to *Sīyum* or the ceremony of 'the third day'. Friends and relations gathered in large numbers to recite the Qur'ān for the benefit of the departed soul. At the close of the ceremony, rose-water was sprinkled over those present, and betel-leaves and *sharbat* (sweet-drink) were distributed as in a regular feast, and people returned to their homes.[4] It was a very expensive rite, for a very large number of persons had to be invited. Buhlūl Lodī, therefore excused the Afghāns (who had to invite whole tribes to a man) from the gift of betel-leaves and *sharbat* or other articles and confined it to the gift of flowers and the sprinkling of rose-water.[5] Other ceremonies which are now usually observed among the Muslims of Hindūstān do not appear to have come into prominence by the close of our period.[6]

---

[1] Compare D.R., 285, how the wife of the deceased threw off her veil and dishevelled her hair in utter misery; for the length and the demonstrative nature of mourning, Frampton, 139; also K.R., II, 26. On the death of Sultān Balban all Khāns and Maliks walked behind the funeral in torn clothes with dust on their heads. His *kotwāl* named Fakhr-ud-dīn, slept on the floor for six months and other notables did the same for forty days. Compare B., 122-3. When 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the muster-master of Sultān Balban died, Hindu Ra'īs joined with bare heads in mourning ceremonies. (*Vide* K.K., 48.)

[2] For the official period of mourning see T.M.S., 384; for the mourning dress of the successor, A., 47; B., 109; for the bent *chatr* T.M.S., 399.

[3] Compare the observations of Ibn Batūta K.R., II, 86, 74.

[4] Compare K.R., II, 74. [5] Compare T.D., 8*b*.

[6] For other ceremonies, compare the accounts in Herklot's Islam (Crooke's edition).

1. *Suttee.*—We shall refer in this connection to the custom of widow-burning which was stopped by law not very long ago. The act of burning of a Hindu wife under certain conditions after the death of her husband was called *Suttee.*[1] The woman who burnt herself was called a *Sati*. On the whole the custom was confined to the upper classes of Hindu society and was especially favoured by the martial tribes of the Rājputs. The women of the lower classes did not even follow the biers of their husbands to the cremation ground.[2] The obligation of self-immolation was not reciprocal inasmuch as it did not apply to the husband when his wife died before him.[3] The rite was probably based on some primitive customs of Indian tribes and was incorporated by the Aryan and other invaders into their system.[4] In any case, it dates back to very ancient times.[5]

The act of burning or *Suttee* was performed both with the dead body of the husband and without it. If the corpse of the deceased husband was available, the wife was burnt with it. This was called *Saha-marana* or 'dying in company with'. If the husband died at a distance from his wife or in certain cases, as for instance when the wife was pregnant, she was burnt later with some article that belonged to her husband or some other objects that symbolized the deceased person. This was called *Anumarana* or 'dying in accordance with'. These terms are sometimes also called *Sahagamana*, 'going along with' and *Anugamana* 'going in accordance with' respectively.[6] In case of more wives than one, the privilege of being burnt with the corpse of the husband was exercised by the chief favourite and others were burnt in separate fires.[7] In exceptional cases

---

1 Compare Barbosa, I, 222, how a woman was sometimes immured alive in the Deccan.

2 Compare Shah, 130 (shabda 73), how a woman, probably of lower classes, followed the corpse of her husband only 'up to the threshold' beyond which only male relations could go; also Macauliffe, I, 381.

3 Compare a modern apology. 'The human spirit' says Coomaraswami, 'demands of men and of women two different devotions. It asks of women devotion to men, of men devotion to ideas.' Sati, 8.

4 Compare a few facts on record for the inference. A copper piece was put into the mouth of the corpse wherewith to pay the ferryman on the waters of the Vaitaranī, the Styx of the Hindus, for the passage of the spirit over the river. Temple, 222. Similarly a lamp was kept burning in the house to light the way of the departed soul in the darkness of the next world. Macauliffe, I, 349; the act of feeding on rice and milk for the vigour of the disembodied soul has been referred to. Abu'l Fazl makes it clear that the belief that the spirit of the husband needed a female attendant in the next world was widely prevalent. A.A., II. 191-2, also Pero Tefur, 90-1; also Crooke, Popular Religion, 153. The Suttee forms a link in a line of thought of similar animistic character.

5 Compare Thompson, 19, how the soldiers of Alexander found it prevalent in the Punjāb.

6 Compare Thompson, 15.

7 Compare Frampton, 127, how among several wives the favourite spouse was allowed to put her neck in her husband's arm when she was burnt.

co-wives reconciled their life-long differences and ill-will and arranged to be burnt together with their husband in the same fire.[1]

The accounts of a wife burning herself with the corpse of her husband are somewhat prosaic and may be imagined. She followed the bier and was burnt with it. Sometimes it was more elaborate and picturesque, and greater courage and coolness were required. Ibn Batūta has given a description of both varieties. We will summarize his account of the Suttee of three women whose husbands had fallen in a battle far away. The Sati in this case, on hearing the news of her husband's death, first took a bath and put on her best clothes and jewels. A procession was soon formed to conduct her to the place of cremation. The Brahmans and other relations joined the procession and showered their profuse greetings on the widow on the glorious fortune that attended her. The woman took a cocoanut in her right hand and a mirror in her left and rode on a horse. The procession started with music and drums towards a shady grove. There was a pool of water in this grove and a stone idol (probably the idol of Śiva, although the Moorish traveller does not specify it). Near the pool was a huge fire, constantly fed with sesamum oil and screened from public view; 'the whole surrounding wearing an appearance of hell, God save us from it'. Approaching the shady grove, the Sati first washed herself in this pool of water and then began making a gift of her fine clothes and jewels one by one. At the end of it she borrowed a coarse unsewn cloth and put it over her body. Then, with calm boldness she advanced to the enclosure, until now screened from her sight; she joined her hands in salutations and prayers to the goddess of fire, Agni; she meditated for a while; then suddenly, with a firm resolution, she cast herself into the flames. Just at this moment, from another quarter, a clamorous noise was raised with trumpets, drums and other vessels—obviously to distract the attention of the people from the horror of the scene. Others who were closely watching the movements of the Sati, immediately pushed heavy logs of wood over the body of the burning woman to prevent her escaping or struggling. Ibn Batūta, our informant, swooned at the sight and was carried away from the scene. So his description does not give us further details.[2] This account is more or less a complete and faithful description of what happened in *Suttee*.

We gather from other sources what corroborates the account of Ibn Batūta and emphasizes the religious element

---

[1] Compare the story of the two co-wives of Rājā Ratan Sen of Chitor who sank their mutual life-long bitterness and quarrels in the last act of sacrifice. They sat one on each side of the corpse in perfect amity and were quietly consumed in the flames. Compare P. (hin), 295.

[2] Compare K.R., II, 13-14, for the description of Ibn Batūta.

and the eloquent persuasions of the Brahman priest, who did not miss this exceptionally suitable opportunity of explaining to the widow the essentially transient and deceptive character of this life and the reality of the life beyond. Once she was burnt, so the priest assured her, a Sati was sure to find awaiting her the company of her husband for all eternity, riches, apparel, honour, and happiness beyond measure. The widow was led to believe, in this manner, that her self-immolation in fire was even more auspicious than the day of her nuptials, for it promised the company of her husband for all times without a break or interruption.[1] In case she pursued a contrary course, she was sure to wander as a discontented ghost in the region of unhallowed spirits.[2] There was no other choice. For the people in general it was an amusement and almost a pleasure to watch the spectacle of a widow burning herself.[3] Others who were a little more far-sighted and practical treated her as something of a free courier to the other world. They sent through her all sorts of messages to those on the other side.[4]

Attempts have been made to look upon this relic of a primitive age and of a barbarous past as 'the last proof of perfect unity' in body and soul between a Hindu wife and her husband. Apart from the glaring defect that the burning was not mutual but only rested upon the wife, other considerations show the unhistoric character of such *a posteriori* moralizings. The custom of widow-burning as is shown by all the details of its observance and other animistic practices which we have referred to in this chapter, descended to the people of our age from earlier and more primitive times when spirit-worship and animistic cults were probably prevalent in the land. There were certain other social factors which made its continuance possible. One of the factors which encouraged the practice of Suttee was the degraded position of a widow in Hindu society. There are facts on record which show that the burning of a widow was on the whole better for her than the life of bitterness and shame which awaited her refusal to submit to this ordeal.[5]

---

[1] Compare the account of Nicolo Conti; Frampton, 139; Pero Tefur, 90.

[2] Compare Tod, II, 723, for the sentiment and belief of the wives of Indal and Ūdal who fought for Prithīrāj.

[3] Compare the observation of T.D., 57*b*, how common people looked upon the spectacle as a *tamāsha*; also K.R., II, 13.

[4] Compare Pero Tefur, 90-1.

[5] Widowhood, according to Hindu religious philosophy was in rigorous justice the result of *Karma*, or the deeds in a previous life, and as such, an experience which the widow amply deserved. Compare for instance Barbosa, I, 219-20; K.R., II, 13, how a woman renounced every happiness and pleasure on the death of her husband, e.g. she broke her bangles and removed all her ornaments. Compare Pero Tefur, 91, how a Hindu widow escaped to Babylonia because of the social persecution that followed her refusal to burn herself; also A.A., II, 192, for the opinion of Abu'l Fazl who makes it abundantly clear that if widows refused to

Allied to this was the question of status of a family. Public opinion and carefully cultivated religious beliefs had succeeded in inculcating in the minds of people that Suttee was the highest and the most praiseworthy female virtue. The failure of a widow to burn herself with her deceased husband was a sure index of want of fidelity and truthfulness on her part.[1] In some cases financial pressure was also brought to bear on the woman when she was offered in marriage. Nicolo Conti tells us of cases where a bride was offered to choose between Suttee or the surrender of her dowry. In the latter case, the dowry went to the male relations of her husband to the exclusion of her own children.[2]

With the Rājput warrior, Suttee or even the slaughter of women and children was a point of honour. He only resorted to these acts of desperation when he was facing a certain defeat and there was every likelihood of his family falling into the hands of a not very kind enemy. Ordinarily, wives and favourite concubines committed Suttee on the death of a Rājput chief, but bigger and more spectacular holocausts were reserved for the scenes of a losing fight.[3] We do not affirm that the devotion of a Hindu wife was uniformly absent in every case of Suttee. There are cases on record which somewhat encourage the belief held by the admirers of Suttee, but such examples are too few to affect our general analysis.[4] On

---

burn themselves, the Hindu public harrassed them so much that death through fire appeared to be a better course to choose.

[1] Compare Yule, II, 341, how the widow who offered to burn herself had 'great praise from all'; her family acquired a great social prestige and a reputation for fidelity and truthfulness.

[2] Compare Pero Tefur, 91, who also tells us that in this case in the absence of a widow, her head-dress was laid beside the corpse and burnt.

[3] For ordinary widow-burning on the death of a Rājput chief, there are numerous examples in Tod and Thompson. Other conspicuous examples of widow-burning or slaughter will be mentioned presently in connection with *Jauhar*. Compare A.A., II, 5, for a typical illustration, which reminds one of the scenes related in the 'Count of Monte Cristo' by the Albanian princess. In a few words, when the Rājputs found they were losing a fight, they ordered their mansions to be surrounded with oil and hay. The women were locked in and a man was appointed to watch the fate of the battle. If he was sure that defeat and disaster were unavoidable, he exercised his authority and lighted the fatal pile. Compare P.P., 13, how on the death of Hamīr Deva, his women deliberately offered themselves for Suttee as 'an act befitting true women'. Compare also the account of *Tārikh Muzaffar Shāhī*, 35, for the voluntary self-immolation of the wives of a Rājā on the advance of Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt.

[4] Compare, for instance, the sentiment of Rūpāmatī as expressed by Ahmad-al-'Umarī. Crump, 82; or the story of Dewalrānī as given in the pages of Amīr Khusrau; or the account given in the pages of Mushtāqī of a lover who saved his sweet-heart (whom he had not married) from a snake who bit him instead, causing his immediate death, whereupon without legal or social obligation the girl decided to be burnt with his corpse.

the whole, we find ourselves in agreement with Abu'l Fazl who divides the Satis into a number of categories namely, those who were compelled by the relatives to burn themselves ; those who deliberately and with a cheerful countenance accepted the ordeal owing to their devotion for their dead husbands ; those who out of regard for public opinion surrendered themselves ; others who were swayed by considerations of family traditions and customs ; and finally, those who were actually dragged into the fire against their will.[1]

We will describe here the attitude of the Muslim State towards this honoured Hindu custom. Ibn Batūta tells us that the Sultāns of Delhi had enacted a law, whereby a license had to be procured before burning a widow within the kingdom. Probably the law was designed to discourage the use of compulsion or social pressure to force a widow to burn herself, but in the absence of very strong reasons to the contrary, the license was issued as a matter of course.[2] Beyond instituting a system of official permits, the State took no further steps until the reign of Humāyūn. The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn was the first monarch to think of extending an absolute prohibition to all cases where a widow was past the age of child-bearing, even if she offered herself willingly. It was a bold step of social reform and there were no violent protests or demonstrations on the part of the Hindu priesthood or laity. But the credulous monarch was persuaded to believe that this interference in the religious practices of another people and the forcible prevention of a hallowed custom was sure to arouse the wrath of the Divine Being and result in the downfall of his dynasty and perhaps in his own death. These weighty considerations led the religious and God-fearing monarch to cancel his orders. The ordinary rules, however, remained in force ; for it is reported that the officers of the Sultāns were always present on the scene of widow-burning to prevent any violence and compulsion being brought to bear on the reluctant or refusing widow.[3] Akbar is reported to have interfered personally in certain famous cases and stopped the widows burning themselves. It is very difficult, however, to infer from these few cases, in which the monarch was interested for personal reasons, that any general prohibition was enforced or contemplated.

It was difficult for Muslims to remain long without being influenced by the custom of Suttee or the attitude which fostered it, though the cases are not sufficiently numerous or general to emphasize the point. On the whole these tendencies are limited to those who had an aristocratic Hindu origin or lived in a Hindu environment.[4] Islām must have gone a long way to

---

[1] Compare A.A., II, 191-2. [2] Compare K.R., II, 13.

[3] Compare the account of Sidī 'Alī Reis, Vambery, 60.

[4] Compare the account of the defeat of 'Ain-ul-mulk when he rebelled against Sultān Muhammad Tughluq. On the field of battle when

modify the intensity and the operation of the custom in northern India. Among other direct influences we may note here the latter day popularity of Krishna and Rāma cults which gradually changed the religious outlook of the people.[1]

2. *Jauhar*.—The account of funeral and posthumous rites would be incomplete without a reference to the custom of Jauhar which can be better explained than defined.[2] The custom of *Jauhar* was more or less confined to the Rājputs, though other cases are not wanting.[3] When a Rājput chief and his warriors were reduced to despair in an engagement, they usually killed their women and children or locked them inside an underground enclosure and set fire to the building. Then, sword in hand, they sallied forth to court a certain but heroic death. The code of Rājput warfare did not know of surrender, and could not reconcile them to a defeat. It guided only to victory or annihilation.

There are many well-known examples of Jauhar during our period. The example of Hamīr Deva, the Chauhān warrior of Ranthambor, is well known. When facing the overwhelming numbers of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī he committed Jauhar after putting up a sturdy resistance for a long time.[4] However, we have more graphic details of the Jauhar committed by the Rājā of Kampila when his fortress was besieged by Sultān Muhammad Tughluq to punish him for sheltering a State rebel named Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtāsp. The Rājā first managed to smuggle the refugee out of the fortress and arranged for his (the rebel's) shelter in another place of security. He then ordered a great fire to be lighted and approached the members of his own family with the following words: 'I have made up my mind to die. Such of you who choose to follow me do the same'. All the ladies washed themselves, rubbed their bodies with sandal-wood paste, then made their solemn obeisance to their master and quietly threw themselves into the fire. The families of the ministers and other nobles joined them in this supreme sacrifice. The Rājā and his warriors in their

---

his army was scattered and it was rumoured that he was killed, his wife refused to be saved and stayed there to share the fate of her husband and if possible to be burnt like a Hindu widow (*vide* K.R., II, 66). Compare also the opinion of Amīr Khusrau and his profound admiration for the Hindu wife. Q.S., 31.

[1] Compare Tod, II, 620 on their effect over the Rājputs.

[2] Compare Tod, I, 310-11 (note) for Grierson. The term 'Jauhar' is derived from *Jatu-griha* 'a house built of lac or other combustibles' in allusion to the story in the Mahābhārata (i, chap. 141–51) of the attempted destruction of the Pandavas by setting such a building on fire.

[3] Compare for instance the account of the Jauhar of the Hindu assassins who killed the Sayyid monarch named Mubārak Shāh. T.M.S., 462. Compare also *Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī*, 289 for the Jauhar of many Hindus during the sack of Delhi by Tīmūr.

[4] Compare the account of Amīr Khusrau in K.F., 24.

turn similarly washed and rubbed themselves with sandal-wood paste, girded themselves with their arms but discarded the protective breast-plate. The heroic band then proceeded to fight the besiegers until every one of them was killed.[1]

The rite of Jauhar sometimes assumed an even more desperate and tragic form. We have a very graphic account from the pen of Emperor Bābur of the defeat and the Jauhar of Mednī Rāi of Chanderī. After their defeat the warriors of Mednī Rāi killed all their women and children in obedience to the custom and issued forth with naked sword to fight to the bitter end. Soon, however, they realized that it was not possible to fight and became apprehensive of being captured alive. To avoid such a humiliating fate they decided to commit suicide. It was arranged to put one of their men on an elevated spot with a sharp drawn sword. All others then advanced below him one by one, their heads falling at regular intervals until all of them perished.[2] There is reason to believe that the course these proud warriors adopted was not altogether rash or ill-chosen. In warfare of those days there were no agreements on humane treatment or covenants to regulate the treatment of the captives of war and the wounded. Everything depended on the will of the victorious conqueror. Proud Rājputs would not submit to such a humiliating position even in their own inter-tribal wars, which were not infrequent. When they were opposed to the Muslim invaders they frankly expected the worst from their enemies. There are historic examples to illustrate that in quite a number of cases the brutality of the Muslim warriors was quite exceptional even in the records of barbarity and brutality of that age.[3]

It is natural to expect a certain amount of assimilation of the custom of Jauhar by the Muslim warriors whose traditions of fighting were quite as strong as those of the Rājputs. Sometimes they took more or less the same position as their enemies did against them, as for instance, when Tīmūr invaded India. Mercy was neither sought nor given and the certainty of almost

---

[1] Compare the account of Ibn Batūta, K.R., II, 58-9.

[2] Compare the account of *Bābur-nāma*, 312.

[3] Compare for an illustration of extreme brutality and complete want of chivalry and fine feelings, the case of Bhayyā Pūran Mal of Chanderī. Sher Shāh persuaded the Rājput chief and his men to come out of the fortress under the most sacred pledges of security and upon the oath of the Qur'ān. When they were brought out, they were treacherously surrounded by the soldiers of Sher Shāh and attacked in the darkness of the night. The Rājputs killed their women and children and died fighting to a man. A son and daughter of Bhayyā Pūran Mal who somehow escaped being killed, fell into the hands of Sher Shāh and met a worse fate. The Afghān monarch took his impotent and brutal revenge by castrating the son and turning over the daughter to professional dancing in the streets. For the Jauhars of the Rājputs in inter-tribal wars, compare Tod, II, 744.

brutal slaughter persuaded many a warrior to adopt the course of Rājput Jauhar.[1] The Deccan, however, does not appear to be a very fruitful soil for the growth of such martial traditions.[2]

Social and Domestic Comforts.

General Remarks. The masses of the People.—We have pointed out in an earlier chapter the disparity between the incomes of various social classes and the almost antipodal difference which existed between the highest and lower classes. We have also expressed there our agreement with the opinion of Mr. Moreland. We will add here a few words in support of those statements, by illustrating the domestic comforts of the masses of the people, most of whom inhabited the villages as they do now. The Mughal Emperor Bābur was particularly struck with the meagre requirements of the Indian rural population. The colonization or the devastation of a peasant village according to him, took an amazingly short time as so few things were required to give shape to a rural habitation. 'People disappear completely from a place where they have been living for many years in about a day and a half' says Bābur, and leave absolutely no traces of their existence behind. Similarly, when they colonize a new place, they are content with some sort of bored well or a pool or tank of water for their needs, without requiring elaborate constructions like canals and bridges. A few tree trunks and a quantity of straw for thatches is all that they want for the construction of their dwellings. Big mansions or a town with circumvallations do not enter their scheme of corporate life. You turn and see them commencing to build a rural village and in an unbelievably short time, you turn again to find it finished and now there stands before you a regular rural village of Hindūstān.[3] This is a fairly correct general estimate of the rural village.

To take a somewhat closer view, the site for a rural habitation was usually chosen on a raised ground or a high hill, preferably under the protective arms of a mighty man, a Sultān or a noble in the neighbourhood.[4] There was a supply of water

---

[1] Compare for instance the example of Kamāl-ud-dīn, the Governor of Bhatnair and his retainers who burned their women and their property and then proceeded to fight Tīmūr like 'blood-thirsty devils'. *Vide* Z.N., 452, M., 277. Compare also the feeling of Humāyūn when one of the ladies of the royal haram named 'Aqīqa Bībī fell into the hands of Sher Shāh after the defeat of Kanauj. The Mughal Emperor felt sorry that he did not kill her before the impending disaster. *Vide* G., 46.

[2] Compare K.F., 40, how the Rājā of Telingana hesitated to commit Jauhar on the attack of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī though a number of his officers volunteered to do so.

[3] Compare B.N., 250.

[4] Compare the view of Nānak, Shah, 187. Compare the account of Ibn Batūta for the water supply of the village. K.R., II, 94.

near by and land for cultivation all round. This village was composed of cottages adjoining one another, for the various classes, those of the untouchables and low classes lying on the outskirts. An average cottage in the Doāb area was somewhat like the following, though no definite account has come down to us from contemporary sources. It represented the minimum that a human being wants for protection from cold, rain or tropical sun. Four low mud walls probably enclosed a small space with a roof of thatch supported by a few wooden logs and resting on wooden stands or rough pillars. A small opening in the front wall was left out for entrance which might or might not be fitted with a door. There were perhaps no smaller openings in the side walls to admit light. The floor was of trodden earth, sometimes plastered with cow-dung.[1] The houses of better-class peasants or of the head-men of the village were more spacious and commodious. They had a platform (*chabūtra*) outside the houses together with an entrance chamber and an inner room, a spacious courtyard, a verandah and even a second storey. The apartments for the members of the joint family were built around the central courtyard within. The walls were of mud, and the roof, as usual, of thatch with perhaps a few wooden beams.[2] The houses in the lower Gangetic valley, if we may infer from the houses of the rich people, were not built close to one another but stood in their own orchards of fruit or palm trees. They were erected on mud plinths around a courtyard with wooden or bamboo posts, and were interlaced with walls of split bamboos, the thatched roof resting on a bamboo framework. All this was encircled by a moat, a fence, some sort of hedge or a well-manured patch of castor or some other crop, for protection.[3]

As to their furniture, the enumeration for poorer peasants need not detain us long. Like the handy thatch and the easily available wooden beams and logs, their utensils for every day were made of baked earth which could be procured in the village itself.[4] The better class peasants, as we have noted before, may have also bought a few brass and mixed-metal utensils. Refinements of dress and toilet or delicacies of cooking and dining equipment did not enter their scheme of life. They usually slept on the bare floor and went about covered in a loin-cloth and an over-all sheet of coarse cloth which was used almost for every convenience of clothing and even bedding. A cake of millet, rice and pulses and if possible a little clarified butter and a relish of onions and chillies has been their familiar

---

[1] Compare Salzmann, 88 for a description of mediæval English poor.

[2] Compare some terms of village housing in Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, 332-3; also I.G.I., XXIV, 174-5.

[3] Compare also I.G.I., VII, 239-40.

[4] Compare the account of Firishta, T.F., II, 787.

diet.[1] The usual rule is two meals a day, unless some stale food is left over from the previous evening. In some cases they are, as probably they were, content with one square meal.[2] Their usual drink is cool and fresh water; and they do not forget to ask every wayfarer or passing traveller to share this beverage, particularly in the hot season. Tobacco had not come into use during our period and the use of opium was confined to a few regions. Betel-leaves and areca nuts were consumed by urban people of all classes. On special festivals, toddy or some cheap country spirit was drunk by the peasants.[3] We may similarly conclude that it was usual for all the members of a family, especially the females, to sleep in a single chamber during cold weather, or in the open courtyard during summer. There were no separate kitchens or bath-rooms in the house. People went to wells or rivers for bathing. There was little privacy in the life of the people and very few refinements, though there was plenty of fellow-feeling and humanity and strict and intricate rules of behaviour governed by a well-known and well-understood custom. So, we may imagine, lived the vast mass of the Indian population in rural village communities.

I. Town-planning.—The Indian tradition of architecture, including that of town-planning, is a very ancient one. Regular books were compiled on the science of architecture, otherwise called the *śilpaśāstras*, and archæological remains of ancient towns and buildings amply testify to the architectural richness of the ancient Hindu mind.[4] The distinctive features of a typical Hindu city were the choice of its site and two wide streets running through the city, intersecting at right-angles. The Hindu buildings were conspicuous for their mass and durability.[5] There was a profuse display of gold plate in the royal mansions. These were built many storeys, the two upper storeys sometimes measuring as many as fifty yards in

---

[1] Compare Crooke's Herklot's Islam, 317.

[2] Compare I.G.I., VIII, 308; 327; XX, 292-3; XXIV, 174.

[3] Compare *ibid.*, VIII, 308-9.

[4] Compare V. V. Dutta's 'Town-planning in ancient India' for details.

[5] Compare for instance a description of Jaipur, 'The plan of the city of Jaipur is especially interesting . . . for this city is one of those which have not grown up irregularly by gradual accretion: it was laid down at its foundation on a scientific plan according to the traditions of Hindu city-builders and the direction of their canonical books called the Śilpaśāstras . . . The city leans upon the neighbouring hill, defended by the Nahargarh Fort, its main streets running approximately from East to West and North to South, following the directions laid down in the Śilpaśāstras'. Havell, Indian Architecture, 217. For the durability of Hindu buildings compare the account of Tīmūr who bears testimony to the fact that they lasted from five to seven hundred years. *Vide* M., 304-5. Also see E.D., I, 329 for an ancient fire temple of unburnt bricks, two yards long and broad and one span thick, in Sind, which existed intact in the time of the author of the narrative. Compare also Tod, III, 1313 (note) for ancient burnt bricks of Sehwān in Sind.

height. Green tile work was used for roofs, and the encircling walls of a fortress or the circumvallation of a city were marked with towers, massive gates and statues of elephants or men at the entrance. Where it was available, stone was used in construction. Among other features of Hindu buildings, we may note the construction of aqueducts, the exquisite carvings of the doors and windows and the fine workmanship displayed in building temples and idols.[1]

When Muslims first came on the scene, and for a long time afterwards, they made skilful use of Hindu architectural talent in their own buildings and towns. They borrowed most of the old features of Hindu cities, though they left very few of the native master-pieces intact. Probably the Muslims added to the outstanding features of a Hindu town, namely the palaces, tanks, temples, the broad and open spaces and the height and massiveness of their buildings, some distinguishing features of their own, thus evolving a city as it stood under the Mughals.[2] Among the contribution of Muslims towards Indian town-planning may be noted their beautiful and spacious mosques, their gate-ways, probably the use of fountains, domes, a new arch and an improved style of walls around a city with watch-towers and other military equipment of a more efficient pattern. Their buildings, their mausoleums, their roofed tanks and baths and their beautiful gardens all went to enrich an Indian city.

An average city of contemporary Hindūstān may be described somewhat as follows :—It was situated on the bank of a river or on the converging point of many trade routes, usually on a higher level than the surrounding country, for reasons of defence and security.[3] A high massive wall ran round the city, intercepted by gates which were heavily guarded day and night under the direct supervision of a special officer known as the *Kotwāl*.[4] On entering the city enclosure, the principal mosque

---

[1] For gold display compare P. 23-4. For an account of storeyed houses compare the account of Tīmūr (*ibid.*) that the wooden houses of Kashmīr were sometimes four and five storeys high in the 14th century. Compare also Jāisī for seven-storied buildings of Simhala. Compare Bābur's account of Gwalior (B.N., 317, 320). The royal buildings of Gwalior were four storeys in height, the two upper storeys measuring about 50 yards. They were conspicuous for towers, gates, statues, and green tile work.

[2] Compare the account of cities like Delhi, Budā'ūn, Sīkrī, Agra, Ajmer and others in the Records of the Archæological Department of India. Compare B.N., 312 for the extensive and universal use of stone in Chanderī.

[3] Compare T.D., 92-3 for the account of the foundation of Patna and the reasons for the choice of the site, as Sher Shāh formulated them.

[4] For the office of *Kotwāl*, B., 279 and other authorities. For this wall-building, we have an interesting account of *Jahān Panāh*, the surrounding wall of Delhi begun by Muhammad Tughluq. It was 11 cubits in thickness and a man on horseback could ride on it all round the city. Regular chambers were constructed inside it for night-watches

or temple usually struck the visitor by its unusual height and conspicuous site. The principal mosque was within measurable distance of every part of the city and was big enough to accommodate a very large gathering of men on Fridays and on other occasions for public prayers.[1] Big reservoirs were laid within or very near the city for the supply of water especially in case of siege or scarcity of rain.[2] These aqueducts were particularly important for hilly fortresses.[3] Two main roads running at right-angles intersected in the middle of the city and were connected with the main gates of the outer wall. On both sides of these main roads were the four wings of the city *bazar* with rows of shops facing each other. These wings of the *bazar* were occupied by special classes of tradesmen and guilds of craftsmen.[4] For their own amusement and comfort, monarchs sometimes built *bazars* inside and outside their palaces.[5] Bridges sometimes added to the charms of a city.[6]

The city was divided into separate quarters for various social groups. In keeping with the social ideas of the day some classes of people, for instance, the scavengers, the leather-dressers and the very poorest beggars and wretches, were segregated from the rest of the population and were made to

---

and other guards. There were other similar chambers for stores of provisions of corn and other military weapons like mangonels and heavy apparatus used in defending cities against besiegers. It had 28 gates and many bastions at close intervals. Compare K.R., II, 16. Compare the evidence of Tīmūr that this city wall from Sīrī to old Fort was made of stone. (*Vide* M., 290, Z.N., 476.)

[1] Compare A., 135. The mosque of Fīrūzābād designed under Fīrūz Tughluq was provided with accommodation for 10,000 people. The fact should also be remembered that the present Qutb Minār of Delhi was originally designed as the minaret of a mosque named *Quwwat-ul-Islām* ('the strength of Islām'). Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, who later designed another minaret five times the dimensions of the Qutb, appears to have forgotten the original object.

[2] Compare K.R., II, 17-18 for an account of *Hauz-i-Shamsī* of Delhi which was 2 miles in length and half a mile in width.

[3] Compare *ibid.*, 93 for Ibn Batūta's account of what is called a *Bāolī* or water-reservoir—a tank with stone casing on the sides and steps running to the edge of the water.

[4] Compare the account of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, 40*b*. Compare also Sayyid Ahmad, Chap. II, 24 for the account of Fīrūzābād, the city of Fīrūz Shāh. It was 5 krohs (or about 10 miles) in diameter; *ibid.*, 52. Delhi of Shāhjahān had a *bazār* 1,500 yards long and 30 yards wide known as Faiz Bāzār and lying in front of the Delhi Gate: also A., 135.

[5] The *Mīnā Bāzārs* of Akbar will be referred to elsewhere. The Haram *bazar* of Māndū has been mentioned earlier. It will be worth while observing here that the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn built a floating *bazār*. Many huge boats were joined together, and over them rows of stalls were built, so that if the royal party went for a pleasure trip on the Jumna all sorts of supplies were available for the royal company and their retainers. Compare K., 138-9.

[6] Compare references to the construction of bridges in 'Afīf. Compare the account of Tīmūr (M., 304-5) for thirty bridges over the Jhelum in the city of Nagar (Srīnagar ?).

live on the outskirts of the towns. The rest of the population divided itself into religious, racial and even occupational groups. For instance, Muslims and Hindus had separate quarters; nobles and common people lived in distinct parts of the city; among the common people various trades and castes lived in their own quarters. All these quarters were designed to be as complete and self-sufficient as possible; in fact, some of them developed all the features of a big town and were provided with all the social amenities of a city on a smaller scale.[1]

The Royal Quarter.—The capital city of the kingdom added to the list of these quarters one of its own and the most magnificent of them all, one in which the palaces of the Sultān and the houses for his establishments were built. We have already said something about the palaces and establishments of the Sultān. It should be observed here that the palaces and other staff buildings were not the only important features of the royal quarter, which was a magnificent town in itself. Besides the elephant and horse stables, army quarters and parade grounds, the royal quarter was conspicuous for its spacious and beautiful gardens, extensive play-grounds, mosques, baths, colleges and mausoleums. The foundation of a royal building was carried out with great solemnity amidst a scene of splendour. The hour was fixed, as usual, after consulting the astrologers. The Sayyids and the religious dignitaries of the State accompanied the monarch and even assisted sometimes in collecting the stone and mortar and other necessary material for building. When the inauguration ceremony began, His Majesty laid the first brick in the foundation with his own hands.[2] The work of construction began afterwards. If the building was a palace for the residence of the Sultān himself, many secret doors and concealed passages were designed inside it to help the escape of the monarch in times of danger, or for other uses.[3]

There were no defined regulations for the design of the royal buildings. Everything depended on the pleasure and whims of the monarch. The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, for instance, built himself a floating palace, the 'Mystery House', and among other novelties, the 'floating *bazār*'.[4] Among other usual features of

---

[1] For the Muslim quarters, compare an illustration in Gupta, Bengal etc., 90-1; compare the account of Ibn Batūta. 'Tarabābād' or the Musicians' quarter of Delhi was provided with its own market and mosque. It had even a Jami' mosque of its own. *Vide* K.R., II, 18.

[2] Compare the account of Khvāndmīr, 146. Humāyūn also believed in taking omens from the Qur'ān besides consulting astrologers in selecting an auspicious moment; also Macauliffe, II, 34.

[3] Compare B., 403.

[4] Compare K., 139-40 for the Floating Palace. It was modelled on the Floating *Bazar* and was fitted on two huge boats. The wood-carvers, metal-workers, decorators and furnishers of the capital had spent all their ingenuity and talent for design to give this palace a most exquisite appearance. The Floating Palace had three storeys. Compare *ibid.*, 144 for a detailed description of the 'Mystery House'. It was

the royal palace was the use of chronometers and the announcement of the hour.[1] In fact, time was announced in every official residence in the kingdom, the morning hour in particular being announced with trumpet and drums and, as usual in Muslim cities, by the call of the Muazzin to prayer.[2] At night, the royal palace was heavily guarded under the personal supervision of a special officer. As a rule, nobody was allowed to enter the precincts after the first watch of the night except those on night duty or others who had special permission from the monarch to stay inside the building. A special officer kept the record of events at the palace during the night and submitted it to the monarch in the morning.[3]

Tent life was popular equally with the poor and the rich.[4] The king made use of tents of a great variety for pleasure and

---

built on the bank of the Jumna in Āgra and was composed of three rooms on the ground floor adjoining one another. The central room was designed in an octagonal shape and fitted with a large water tank. Over this tank was constructed an alcove from which a secret passage led into adjoining chambers. Care was taken that the water from the tank, even when it was over-full, did not escape into these adjoining rooms. A person on entering the tank, went into the alcove, and passing through its revolving doors, went into one of these chambers where, to his agreeable surprise, he found himself in most magnificent halls provided with refreshments, music and songs.

[1] Compare for the use of chronometer (*ghariyāl*) a previous reference in chapter II, where it is mentioned that Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq maintained a separate department for it; also Macauliffe VI, 400. This *ghariyāl* or water-clock was a kind of clepsydra used in India from a very ancient date (Compare *J.R.A.S.*, 1915. Fleet 'The ancient Indian water-clock'. Compare also *ibid.*, 702 where Mr. Pargiter explains that both sundial and water-clock were used in ancient days to determine the hour of day and night. The longer measure of 'half-watch' was determined by 'gnomon' and the *nadika* by the latter). In one place Malik Muhammad Jāisī tells us that hours, halves and quarters were determined by the 'filling in' of the vessel. (*Vide* P., 64.) The announcement of time was made by striking a gong of mixed metal, about the thickness of two finger breadths, at every *Pahar* (*vide* B.N., 265). Outside India, Muslims were familiar with more advanced models of clocks and chronometers (Compare Siddiqi, *I.C.*, Vol. I 'Use of clocks in Muslim lands'). In India they adopted the old Hindu system. Bābur made certain improvements in the marking of time. He began the announcement of *gharīs* in addition to Pahars. (*Vide* B.N., 517.) Besides water-clocks, Humāyūn also used astrolabes to fix a particular hour. (*Vide* G., 53.) In general *ghariyāl* (the Hindu clepsydrą) was used in the Kingdom.

[2] Compare the account of Ibn Batūta K.R., II, 6. Compare also K., 156, how Humāyūn introduced the system of announcing time by beat of drums several times a day, namely at dawn, after sun-rise, at sunset and on the night of the first and the fourteenth of the lunar month. Akbar, his successor, however, reverted to the old system of *ghariyāl*; and the gong and the clepsydra accompanied the monarch wherever his camp moved. *Vide* A.A., II, 9.

[3] Compare B., 406 for the night watch and other regulations. Compare A., 127 for the record officer. 'Afīf occupied this office for some time; also T.M.S., 376 for another reference to the record officer.

[4] Compare the interesting experience of Amīr Khusrau when his house collapsed in the rainy season and he lived in a tent. IK, V, 61.

for official tours outside the capital. There were not many elegant and spacious tents and *Shāmyānas* in the beginning of the Sultanat. Elaboration and refinement came by degrees, until at last the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn designed small and big Shāmyānas and tents of a great variety which reflect creditably on his genius and refinement. Finally, Akbar and his successors moved about in big cities of canvas, so that the various royal tents became bigger and their comforts and decorations greater.[1] The familiar furniture inside a tent or a Shāmyāna was carpets and mattresses made of silk and big pillows along with other requisites.[2]

Before we close the description of royal dwellings, we shall consider a few other features of the residential palace. The royal residence occupied a conspicuous site, on an elevated spot, if possible. It was generally built by the side of a river so that the beauty of the building was enhanced by the stream which reflected it by day and threw its shadows by night.[3] It is difficult to convey in words what one feels on a visit to the royal buildings of Āgra and Delhi or Lahore and Māndū. Beautiful gardens and other open spaces surrounded the palace. We have seen how stone was used in places like Chanderī where it was available. Red stone was used in large quantities. It was rubbed and polished to such fineness that in the words of Amīr Khusrau, one could see one's reflection in the stone walls of the palace of Delhi.[4] Little is said about the flooring of palaces until we come to the time of Bābur, who is credited with using red stones for the flooring of his retiring rooms and drawing rooms, probably for the first time in Hindūstān, though the point seems open to doubt.[5] How far marble was used is not clear, but the existing remains show that the extensive use of fine marble was deferred till the later days of Mughal glory.

Compare T.W., 125*b*, how the royal camp consisted of tents for the king and other officials and of thatch cottages for common soldiers. Compare B.N., 353 for Bābur's experiences of the rainy season in India and his life in tents.

[1] Compare an early reference in Q.S., 40 to royal tents (*bārgāh*) before Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād. Before him the *bārgāh* or *Shāmyāna* was small enough to be supported by only two poles. The Sultān doubled its dimensions and the number of supports. Compare G., 69 for the royal canopy. It was circular in shape. Compare the descriptions in Khvāndmīr, 140-1 of the royal tents of Humāyūn. The Mughal Emperor designed one Shāmyāna which was so big that many frameworks for pillars were required to support it. He ordered another tent to be made on wooden framework which (like his Floating Palace) could be detached and folded in parts and was easy to move from one halting place to another. By the time of Akbar (compare A.A., I, 51) refinements had advanced still further and Abu'l Fazl mentions a great variety of tents in royal use ranging from modest *rāwatīs* and *darweshīs* to 'double storeyed' and 'eight-pillared shāmyānas'.

[2] For furnishings, *ibid.*, A.A., I, 51.

[3] Compare Q.S., 42-3.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Compare the account of Gulbadan, 14-15.

The palace of the Sultān had numerous apartments, namely a *Jāmkhāna* or drawing room, dressing rooms, bathrooms, retiring rooms opening into enclosed courtyards, and the female apartments. The palace walls were decorated with silk hangings and velvet tapestries fringed with brocade and worked with precious stones.[1] The usual articles of decoration were arms and weapons with gold, ebony and damascened work, candle-sticks, candelabras, carpets, ewers, scent boxes, writing cases, chess boards, book-cases and covers, etc. Candles were used to light the chambers by night. Torches and portable wick-lamps were also used on occasions.[2] A number of additions were made to the usual features of the old palaces by Bābur, of which a summer house (*chau-kandī*), flower beds, marble baths and the *Bāolī* and fountains at Āgra are the more important.[3]

For a long time the mansions of nobles of rank and dignitaries of State do not appear to have been built within the royal quarters, though probably they were not situated at a very long distance from it. A more unfettered and intimate social intercourse began to prevail among the noble classes only after the establishment of the Mughal dynasty and with the growth of a thoroughly Indian outlook among all the ruling classes. So that the houses of Bīrbal and Faizī at Sīkrī remind the visitor of the frequent interchange of visits between the monarch and his favourite nobles and their mutual care and devotion.

We have noted in an earlier chapter that the present Delhi is composed of numerous older cities and that this consummation was natural. We shall only note here that by the time of Muhammad Tughluq four separate royal cities had come into existence, namely the Old City or the city proper, Sīrī, Tughluqābād and Jahān Panāh built by the monarch himself. Muhammad Tughluq wanted to circumvallate all of them by a big wall which has already been described, but the plan had to be abandoned owing to its immense cost.[4]

The houses of Nobles.—There is comparatively little information about the mansions (*havailīs*) of the nobility. It appears, however, that they were built on the plan of the royal buildings. There was comparatively more security for the nobles than for the monarchs, which was reflected in better repose and composure in the homes of the former. The mansions of the nobles were big buildings with spacious apartments. There were drawing rooms, baths, sometimes a water-tank, a spacious courtyard, and even a library. Separate apartments were

---

[1] For the apartments and decorations compare the accounts in 'Afīf, 100-101 ; Q., 534 ; K.K., 472.

[2] For the chandeliers etc., see Q.S., 123-4, 127 ; B.N., 409.

[3] Compare G., 14-15, where small cabinets in towers (or *Burjees*) are also mentioned, but the point is open to doubt, as *burjees* are mentioned in Mālwa and other places.

[4] Compare K.R., II, 15-16.

assigned for the use of the ladies of the haram. The drawing rooms were sometimes decorated with costly hangings and beautiful curtains.[1] The walls of the houses of the richer Hindu classes were probably painted and white-washed and the doors were of ornamental wood-work.[2] Some references are found about the houses of upper classes in Bengal and Gujarāt. The Bengal houses were conspicuous for the construction of a tank on one side of the house, an orchard on the other, bamboo groves on the third side, and open spaces on the fourth.[3] The houses of Orissa were spacious and tall structures with orchards of fruit trees and plots of land for purposes of cultivation.[4] Gujarāt was similarly a very advanced country in respect of house-construction. Cambay was 'a most excellent city'. People of Khambāyat had 'many vegetable and fruit gardens and orchards which they used for their pleasures'. Chāmpānīr and Ahmadābād came into prominence at the close of our period. There were fine houses with big courtyards, tanks and wells of sweet water, all made of stone in both the cities.[5] Mārwārī merchants of those days were very fond of bathing and constructed many water-tanks in their houses in addition to the usual orchards and gardens.[6]

It has been suggested by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* that the people of Hindūstān as a whole did not know how to enjoy their beautiful rivers and wide expanses of water. According to him, the people of the Deccan were fond of building their houses near running streams; while in the North, 'if a person pitched his tent on the bank of a river, he screened it from the stream'. They displayed the same want of good taste in the construction of their houses. As a result, observes Firishta, their mansions look like prison houses and their towns and cities are flat.[7] We are not in a position to judge of the correctness of these remarks, but in any case they do not apply to the royal buildings or even to the houses and cities of the Hindus, most of which are situated on the rivers.

---

1 Compare a description of the house of a noble named Khalīfa in Koil (Aligarh) where Gulbadan was received by the Mughal Emperor. The house in this case was furnished with rich Gujarāt curtains fringed with gold-threads. Separate apartments were assigned for Gulbadan and other ladies. *Vide* G., 18, 20-23. Compare Amīr Khusrau's description of the house of a noble, IK., V, 58, 87-88. Compare *Bābur-Nāma*, 234 for the account of the library in the house of Ghāzī Khān, an Afghān noble of Milwat. Bābur bears testimony to the enormous number of 'theological books' which he found there.

2 Compare Macauliffe, I, 275 for a reference.

3 Compare *J.D.L.*, 1927, 116; also Barbosa, II, 147 for large water-tanks inside Muslim house in Bengal.

4 Compare A., 165.

5 Compare for Khambāyat, Varthema, 106, Barbosa, I, 161. Compare Barbosa, I, 125 for Chāmpānīr and Ahmadābād.

6 Compare *ibid.*, I, 113.

7 Compare T.F., II, 787.

II. Furniture.—We have made several references to the articles of use in the royal palaces. No comprehensive account is available but some idea may be gathered from what follows. Among general furniture, we may mention beds and chairs. The bedsteads, as they are even to-day, were made of four cross-pieces of wood resting on four legs and were woven with braids of cotton or silk (*niwār*). Other kinds of light and easily portable beds were also used, so that a person often carried his bedstead with him on a journey. Among articles of bedding, we may include two mattresses, pillows and coverlets which were sometimes made of silk for the nobility and rich people. Cotton or linen slips were used for the mattresses and pillows and were changed very frequently. The common term for all these articles of bedding, including the bed, was *chaparkhat.*[1] In some cases, rich people used bedsteads ornamented with gold and silver and fitted with silk mattresses.[2] The rich Hindus sometimes used beautiful mats known as *Sītal-pātīs* for mattresses and filled their pillows with mustard seeds. Mosquito curtains were also used in some malarious parts of Bengal.[3]

The aristocracy used long chairs with seats made of silk. Other people used *Pīdīs* or seats made of jackwood and coral and interlaced with cotton strings. *Mūndas* of reed were also used.[4] Poorer classes were satisfied with iron stools and the rich had diwans and cushions.[5] A variety of fans was used by the common people. The rich used fly-whisks of many kinds.[6]

It appears from a prohibition of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq that the use of silver and gold plate, of golden ornamented sword-belts, quivers and cups, ewers and goblets, and of other articles the use of which the monarch considered against Islām, was fairly common among the nobility. Among other luxuries which were similarly prohibited mention is made of the pictures of men, houses and scenery which appeared on curtains, tents, and chairs. It is, moreover, made quite clear that all rich homes were furnished with many rich bedsteads, articles of bedding and all other kinds of furniture.[7]

Reference may be made in this connection to domestic pets. Of all domestic animals, the Indian parrot is by far the most popular. It is credited with possessing all the wisdom of ancient sages and all the affection of a brother and a friend. It can

---

1 Compare B., 117 for the term ; compare K.R., II, 73 for other details.
2 Compare Frampton, 137 ; Major, 22.
3 Compare *J.D.L.*, 1927, 241-2.
4 Compare I.K., I, 216 for ebony chairs ; for other articles, B., 273 ; *J.D.L.*, 1927, 243.
5 M.T.I., 125.
6 For fly-whisks see P. (hin.), 269 ; *J.D.L.*, 1927, 223-4.
7 Compare A., 100 for furniture in aristocratic homes. Compare the account of the Sultān in *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* for prohibitions. *Vide* F., 10-11.

repeat a number of phrases and other suitable words in an intelligent manner. Thus the parrot was a familiar pet in the houses of both the rich and the poor, and even in royal palaces.[1] The parrot's cage was an elegant piece of furniture, according to the means of a family.[2] Mention is also made of monkeys among domestic pets, but the animal was always looked upon as anything but harmless, sweet, or innocent.[3] Dogs of great variety were popular and were trained for the chase and for the security and guarding of homes.

The subject of conveyances is also interesting, since people usually had to provide for themselves. For an ordinary journey, people went on horse-back or travelled in *gardūn* or wheeled carriages of great variety. In Khambāyat, it is reported, coaches and chariots of great beauty were used. They were closed and covered like the rooms of a house ; their windows were adorned with gilded leather or silk hangings ; their mattresses were made of silk. Their quilts and cushions were similarly very rich.[4] Women moved about in covered conveyances. For small distances they usually hired a *Dolā* for women, which was a palanquin-like structure supported on bamboos and conveyed by special porters in batches of eight, who worked in shifts. There was also a diminutive form known as *Dolī* which has already been referred to. *Pālkis* (palanquins) were used by richer classes of people especially for long distances. The halting stages were provided with inns (*sarāy*) and shops, and with relays of men and animals, and even spare conveyances.[5]

We may form some idea of the domestic comforts of the nobles and richer classes from the fact that when some nobles of Sultān Husain of Jaunpur fell into the hands of his enemy Sultān Sikandar Lodī, the latter assigned for each one of them one double-tent and canopy, one ordinary single tent, one bath room, two horses, 10 camels (probably for transport), 10 servants, and a bedstead and bedding, when they stayed in his camp.[6] The

---

[1] Compare the account of Hīraman, the famous parrot of Padumāvat in the work of Malik Muhammad Jāisī. Compare also the account of Tīmūr (M., 290) for the present of a parrot by Nāhar. This parrot had enjoyed the company of many kings and rulers. Compare also Muhammad Husain Āzād's account of the parrot's condemnation of Rūmī Khān's treachery in Gujarāt on the invasion of Humāyūn in his History of Urdu Language, *Āb-i-Hayāt* (Urdu), Lahore, 1883, pp. 18-19.

[2] Compare a description of a parrot's cage by Chandī Dās, the Bengali Poet. The stands for the bird, the cups and vases, the bells tied to the feet of the bird, were all made of gold ; so that the cage shone like 'the chariot of the sun-god'. *Vide J.D.L.*, 1930, 276-7.

[3] Compare Amīr Khusrau's reference to monkeys, IK., I, 179.

[4] Compare the account of Barbosa, I, 141.

[5] Compare the account of Ibn Baṭūta, K.R., II, 75; also references in Amīr Khusrau, IK., V, 93. Compare also, the long journey of Khusrau Khān from Deogīr to Delhi in 8 days in *Pālkī* when he was charged with conspiring to dethrone Mubārak Shāh Khaljī (*vide* B., 400).

[6] Compare the account of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi*, f. 29.

traders on the western coast had the most refined tastes in matters of furnishing.[1]

III. Dresses and Clothes.—In matters of dressing, there was no uniformity among the various social and religious groups of Hindūstān. There was a certain uniformity among the peasants and lower classes which mainly consisted in reducing their clothing to a minimum. We have referred to the State dress and other equipment of a monarch. In private, the monarch did not differ very much from other distinguished nobles in his dress, except for the quality of the material and the frequency with which he changed it. For their head-dress, the earlier Sultāns of Delhi usually wore a *kulāh* or the tall Tartar cap. Jalāl-ud-dīn is reported to have worn a turban. For coating they used tight-fitting tunics or *qabā*, made of muslin or fine wool according to the season. The later day *Peshwāz* and *Angā* were modelled on it. In cold weather, the monarch sometimes wore an overcoat over the tunic, called the *Daglā*, which was like a loose gown stuffed with carded cotton or some other material. On closer contact with western countries, *Farghul* or fur-coats began to be used by the monarchs. The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn introduced a new design of overcoat which was cut at the waist and was open in front. Humāyūn wore it over the *qabā*, in many colours according to his astrological fancies. This coat was also presented as *Khil'at* to the nobles and other people on various occasions. Ordinary shirts, *shalwār* (a kind of loose drawers) and light and beautiful shoes were in use. Separate suits of clothes were worn for the night.[2]

The nobles wore a *khil'at* suit on public occasions, if they belonged to the rank of Sultān's peers. This official dress consisted of a *kulāh* for head-dress, a tunic worked in brocade and velvet and a white belt. A noble of rank usually rode on a fine Tartar stallion with costly trappings and a few retainers walking before and after him.[3] In private, the noble usually wore the short Hindu turban (*pāg*), a tunic of some fine texture and the ordinary shirt and drawers. Underwear of muslin or of some other fine material was used. Sleeping suits, as has been noticed, were used and were commonly changed every week.[4]

---

[1] Compare the account of Barbosa (Vol. I, 147-8), how the traders of Gujarāt used porcelain. The people of Rānder had many shelves-full of beautiful porcelain crockery in many designs.

[2] Compare Raverty, 643 for an early reference to *qabā*; A.A., I, 102, 103 for materials; compare B., 273 for a reference to *daglā*; compare Khvāndmir, 141-2 for Humāyūn's new design of an overcoat. Compare A.N., I, 325 for ordinary wear and night suits. A variety of the ordinary light shoes are still known as *Salīm-Shāhī* shoes in Delhi.

[3] Compare B. (ms.), 73. Compare K.K., 774 for *Kulāhs* made of brocade and studded with tiaras and pearls.

[4] Compare W.M., 37 for the ordinary clothes of a noble. Compare also D.R., 301 for tunics made of silk and velvet and shirts and underwear of fine muslins. Reference to the Hindu turban (pāg) has been made

The dress of the lesser nobility and other people may be judged accordingly.

Special classes of people had their own distinctive dresses. There was no special uniform for a soldier, whose arms alone distinguished him from other people.[1] The royal slaves were conspicuous for the use of a waist-band, a handkerchief in their pocket, red shoes and the ordinary *kulāh*. The government officials usually wore signet rings of silver or gold on their fingers.[2]

The variety of dresses is nowhere so striking as among the religious classes of the Muslims. The ordinary orthodox Muslim was only anxious to wear clothes of simple material like linen and to avoid silks, velvets, brocade or furs and coloured garments, in accordance with the spirit of the Sharī'at. His turban was usually of the standard size of seven yards, and if there were any ends, they were thrown at the back. He wore the ordinary shirt and drawers. An orthodox Muslim was very particular in wearing socks and shoes to maintain the ritual purity of his ablutions and did not forget to recite the proper Qur'ānic verse (The *Qadr*., Chap. XCVII) when he washed them. He would not wear any except perhaps as iron ring.[3] The ascetics were not a class, but individuals, in matters of dressing. Some wore a tall darwish cap, the *Qalansuwah* on their head and wooden sandals on their feet and wrapped just a sheet of unsewn cloth round themselves.[4] The Sūfīs, as other men of letters, chose to wear loose gowns made of woollen material.[5]

Bengal and Gujarāt though not very different from the rest of the country had a few distinguishing features. For instance, the Muslim aristocracy of Bengal wore the usual small turban of white cloth, a long tunic with a collar, pointed leather shoes, a broad and coloured waistband and the usual shirt and drawers. At other times they used a decagonal cap as head-dress.[6] In Gujarāt, where Moorish influence prevailed, heavy Moorish turbans and loose drawers, long shoes of leather going up to the

---

by Amīr Khusrau in a famous verse. *Vide Āb-i-Hayāt*, Lahore Edition (Urdu) of Muhammad Husain Azad, p. 52.

1 Compare W.M., 32-3 for an illustration. Compare M.T.I., 459, how heavy turbans marked the head-dress of the Mughal Cavalry in the beginning.

2 Compare T., 12 for the official signet; A., 268 for the dress of a slave. For dresses of other classes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 532 for the account of Mahuan. The mountebank of Bengal (as probably of Delhi) fastened his waist with a scarf of coloured silk and wore a tunic embroidered with black thread. A string of coloured stones and coral beads hung from his shoulders and a bracelet of dark red stones was worn round his wrist. Compare the account of Amīr Khusrau how a *Mīrāsī* or a professional musician was known by his immense and loose drawers. *Vide* IK., IV., 48.

3 Compare T., 12-13.

4 Compare references in B., 112; A.S., 12.

5 Compare K.R., II, 90

6 Compare Notices, etc., 313.

knees, and finger-rings were popular. The servants usually carried daggers or other arms behind their master.[1]

Coming to Hindu dresses, we have already remarked that the Hindu turban was becoming popular among Muslims of the upper classes. The Hindu aristocracy, as a rule, followed the Muslim nobility in their dresses. If one removed the sectarian mark or some distinctive ornament of the Hindu upper classes (for instance, the ear-ring among the Rājputs) there was very little to distinguish a Hindu from a Muslim nobleman.[2] Among the various other social classes, the Brāhmans and ascetics were conspicuous for their public appearance and dress. The upper country Brāhman put a caste-mark (*tilaka*) on his forehead and a *dhotī*, if possible, trimmed with gold lace. He put a forked stick (or *baisākhī*) in his hand and sandals, probably studded with pegs of rich metal, on his feet, and thus went about the town bestowing his blessings on all and sundry.[3]

There was no uniform dress for ascetics (*sādhūs*, *jogīs*) of either sex. The more demonstrative carried a deer-skin for a robe, but the nobler spirits disdained such ostentations and vanity.[4] Some of the ascetics contented themselves with a simple loin-cloth (*langotā*) and a dried gourd to supply all their needs of clothing and other necessities.[5] Others who conformed to the rules of their order usually shaved their heads, put heavy rings round their ears, carried a deer horn and besmeared themselves with ashes. A few added to their equipment such prescribed articles as an ochre robe, a *chakra*, a trident, a rosary, necklace of jujubes, wooden sandals, an umbrella, a deer-skin, a begging bowl.[6] The followers of Nānak discarded these characteristics of ascetics and wore ordinary dress like other people.

Among other general features of Hindu dressing: People usually went bare-headed and bare-footed. A *dhotī* or a single sheet of long cloth below the waist was a sufficient and respectable

---

[1] Compare Barbosa, II, 147; also I, 120.

[2] Compare for instance the description of Rājput dress in Tod, II, 759. Compare also Tod's description of dress in Jaisalmer State. 'The dress of the Bhattīs consists of a *Jāma* or tunic of white cloth or chintz reaching to the knee; the *kamarband*, or ceinture, tied so high as to present no appearance of waist; trousers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ankle, and a turban, generally of a scarlet colour, rising canonically full a foot from the head. A dagger is stuck in the waist-band; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer-skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material'. *Vide* II, 1253-4. Compare also Grierson, Bihar Peasant life, 143–5 for some old terms for dresses and dresses still in vogue.

[3] Compare P., 176.

[4] Compare Sircar, 114.

[5] Compare *ibid.*, 54; compare Temple, 173 for Lalla's supreme contempt for the human weakness of clothing. She chose to wander about clothed 'by the air, clad in the sky'. See also another reference to naked Sādhūs. , 238.

[6] Compare a description in Sircar, 111; P., 273; *J.D.L.*, 1927, 35; Shah, 164; Macauliffe, I, 30-1, 94, 102, 162.

dress.[1] In Gujarāt, some people used a red handkerchief for head-dress.[2] Some of the Gujarātī Baniās wore long shirts of silk or cotton and pointed shoes with short coats of silk, even of brocade. The Brāhman of Gujarāt wore a *dhotī* and usually went bare above his waist, just throwing a triple sacred thread over the body.[3]

There is very little to describe about woman's garments. There were usually only two varieties. One consisted of a long *chādar* or fine sheet of muslin (not unlike the modern *sārī*) and a bodice or *cholā* with short sleeves, going down the back to the waist, with an additional *Angiyā* or brassiere of a dark colour for grown up maidens or married women. This dress had the advantage of leaving their arms free and their heads just slightly covered by the hem of the *Sārī*.[4] The other variety, which was more popular in the Doāb, consisted of a *lahangā* or a long and very loose skirt, a *cholā* and an *angiyā* as in the former case with a *rupatiā* or a long scarf which was sometimes thrown over to cover the head.[5] Ladies of Gujarāt wore leather shoes with gold trimmings.[6] Nothing is known about other provinces, but the probability is that more women wore shoes than men. Muslim ladies of the upper classes usually wore loose drawers, a shirt and a long scarf, together with the usual veil or shroud. These features of female dress are still more or less prevalent in Hindūstān. It may be added that blue was the colour of mourning and except under specified cases, women avoided wearing dresses of that colour for every day use.[7] In other respects women were fond of bright colours and of prints or drawings on the cloth.[8]

Considering that the diversity of Indian dress still engages the mind of some people who would very much like to evolve a common dress for all Indians, it may be added here that Guru Nānak appears to have given considerable time and attention to the problem. He is reported in the Sikh tradition to have himself used a number of combinations of Hindu and Muslim dresses, without really succeeding in harmonizing the various distinctive features of each.[9] The nobility, as we have pointed out, slowly

---

[1] Compare Varthema, 109.

[2] Compare Barbosa, I, 113, 116.

[3] Compare Barbosa, I, 113-4; also P.B.v.

[4] Compare Frampton, 136.

[5] Compare the account of Padumāvat, 214; A.A., II, 183; Sudāma-charitra, 10.

[6] Compare Frampton, 136.

[7] Compare A.N., I, 155; A.A., II, 171-2.

[8] Compare the estimate of Amīr Khusrau. IK., IV, 274. A reference to 'painted cloth' has already been made in connection with the manufacture of cloth.

[9] Compare a description of the dress of Nānak-panthīs in the South during the last century. They used to put coloured strings (*selī*) round their necks, a spot of lamp black in the centre of their foreheads; smeared their faces with sandal-wood paste; carried small Qur'āns as an amulet; and wore necklaces of conch-shell. *Vide* Crooke's 'Herklot's Islam,' 179.

evolved a common dress for themselves; and the poor people universally went about almost naked.

Few records show the characteristic vanity of theologians so well as their attempts to safeguard their exclusive dress. It has even been suggested by the legal compendium compiled under Fīrūz Tughluq that the State should take active measures in prohibiting the Hindus from wearing the distinctive dress of the Muslim theologians.[1] We have never come across a single attempt on the part of the Hindus to justify these insertions of the *Fiqh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*. It is extremely doubtful if such a change was comfortable or even desirable. Although dresses are undergoing modifications in Hindūstān, the older male and female dresses have survived to a large extent.[2]

IV. Cosmetics, Toilets, and Ornaments.—The leisured classes had special facilities for cultivating physical attractiveness among both sexes. The orthodox Muslim and the Sūfī influences both encouraged a greater care of physical adornments. The beard of the theologian and his long and flowing locks of hair were greater fields for diversion than the feminine faces of the nobles and other rich people, of which the Prophet had once disapproved.[3] The combing of beards and the use of scents and rich dresses were considered to be signs of respectability and good breeding.[4] It was a popular craze to look young even though youth had receded beyond recall. Respectable persons used all kinds of devices to succeed in this.[5]

Elaborate arrangements were made for the bath toilet. The Hindus usually applied sesamum oil to their head and washed

---

For the various combinations of dresses worn by Guru Nānak, compare Macauliffe, I, 58, 135, 174, 163.

[1] Compare the discussion of the question in F.F., 418*b* which exposes its purely theoretic character.

[2] Compare how recently the Muslim drawers have been adopted by Hindu women in the Punjāb. *Vide* I.G.I., XX, 293. Other dresses are more or less the same as at an earlier period, for instance, the loose skirt (*lahangā*) is used by upper class ladies of Rājputāna (*vide* Tod, II, 758-9, 1253-4); the *sārī* is universally worn in Bengal and Bombay (I.G.I., XXIV, 174, XX, 293). Among masculine garments, the *dhotī* and the turban (both large and small) are universally used. Compare also Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, 147-9 for the names of dresses still in use.

[3] Compare for instance, Gupta, Bengal, etc., 91. The luxuriant beards of the Muslims sometimes grew down to their chests. Compare B., 248 for the instructions of Nizām-ud-dīn Awliyā the famous Sūfī Saint of Delhi to his followers to use hair-combs and tooth-cleaners.

[4] Compare B., 137, where the historian Baranī finds fault with the common people, the 'nobodies', because they also combed their beards, used scents and wore beautiful dresses.

[5] Compare Amīr Khusrau's ridicule of the dyeing of hair, M.A., 173; and of the use of antimony by night, *ibid.*, 186. The middle-aged woman struggled hard to retain her diminishing charms. She painted her eye-brows, powdered her face and put antimony in her eyes, but perhaps without very happy results, for Amīr Khusrau ironically advises her to cultivate beauty in pious deeds rather than in physical looks (*vide ibid.*, 186, 194).

it with fuller's earth before a bath. After the bath, which was usually taken in running water, the Hindus applied scents to their bodies and a kind of scented powder to their hair. Instead of soap myrobalans were used. Musk and sandal-wood paste were used by both sexes, though women were partial to *kumkum*, *Agaru* (lignum aloes) and a variety of scented oils.[1] In Gujarāt they anointed themselves with sweet-smelling unguents, sometimes with white sandal-wood paste mixed with saffron and other scents.[2] In the South they used an elaborate preparation of white sandal-wood, lignum aloes, camphor, musk, and saffron all finely mixed and kneaded with rose-water.[3] Aloe-wood (*Aqualaria agalocha*) was usually burnt in houses on all occasions of public gathering.[4] If a person went out to meet anyone, he usually put a *Tilaka* mark on his forehead, some flowers or other scent in his hair and chewed a betel-leaf.[5]

Women required less excuse to look pretty. They spent most of their time, if not the whole of it, in cultivating physical charms and graceful looks, not without successful results.[6] The dressing of hair was carefully attended to, though not with such elaboration perhaps as in Burma.[7] Among articles of physical decoration we may mention the use of antimony for the eyes, vermillion for marking the parting of the hair, musk for the breast and betel-leaves for the lips, dentifrice for the teeth, a certain black powder for the eye-brows and the caste-mark for a Hindu maiden.[8] Henna (*Lawsonia alba*) had timely come to their aid and its use soon became universal and popular.[9] In the South women went still further and started using false hair. In the North natural long hair was common among both sexes.[10]

---

[1] Compare for the bath arrangements, K.R., I, 233; also the grief of Mukandrām at the want of oil for baths. Gupta, Bengal etc., 63; also *J.D.L.*, 1927, 39.

[2] Compare for Gujarāt, Barbosa, I, 141, 113.

[3] *Ibid.*, 205.

[4] Compare for instance, I.K., II, 314.

[5] Compare Barbosa, I, 205.

[6] Compare for instance, a description of a Hindu woman in M.A., 200 for the dark hue of her eye-brows, her gorgeous flowing hair, the large eyes with black pupils and olive complexion.

[7] Compare C.H.I., III, 549, how a maid of honour to the Queen of Ava is reported to have enumerated no less than 55 various styles in hair-dressing used at the Ava Palace.

[8] Compare P.B., CXXXII, CXVII, Crump, 41–43.

[9] Compare Raverty, 1124 for the discovery of the henna plant in Sīstān. For the use of henna there are numerous references in Amīr Khusrau and Malik Muhammad Jāisī.

[10] Compare Frampton, 138, Major, 23, for the South. Some women covered their heads with painted leaves, others wore false hair, black in colour. For the North, compare Frampton, 138, how the women grew rich, long and flowing hair, made it into plaits and dressed them 'like unto a pear' over their heads. Over this knot they set a gold pin from which issued some gold threads. The tradition of growing long hair was quite popular with the men. *J.D.L.*, 1927, 9. The Gujarātī Baniās grew long hair and wore it in plaits and knots under the turban. *Vide* Barbosa, I, 113.

V. Ornaments and Public Appearance.—Ornaments were quite an important item for the decoration of the body, whether masculine or feminine. It was considered a sign of noble birth to wear ear-rings. The Rājput warrior distinguished himself by his turned-up side whiskers and his ear-rings.[1] The Gujarātī Baniās were fond of wearing ear-rings of gold set with many precious stones, some other rings over their fingers and a golden girdle over their clothes.[2] The rest of the men's ornaments, if they may be so termed, consisted of beautiful swords, daggers and other arms. The wearing of ornaments on almost every limb from head to foot, was a special weakness of the feminine sex in Hindūstān, as it is even now to a certain extent.[3] In matters of decorative ornaments, bulk and profusion, rather than quality and elegance, seem to have determined the female choice. In these matters woman has been extremely slow to listen to the advocates of natural charms who wanted to dispense with all or most of the ornaments.[4] To a woman in Hindūstān, *Suhāg* or married life signified the use of ornaments all over the body. In the case of widowhood alone, she threw away her ornaments and jewellery and wiped out the scarlet line of vermillion from her head.[5] In fact, it was a part of general renunciation of all comforts and happiness, even her life.

It is difficult to enumerate the variety of ornaments which were used for the head, arms, nose, ears, fingers, neck, waist, thighs, and feet.[6] We shall therefore conclude after mentioning the following sixteen items of female toilet which Abu'l Fazl considers as the minimum for a respectable lady: a bath, an oil massage, the dressing of her hair, putting an ornament on her forehead together with sandal-wood paste, a suitable dress, a caste-mark, antimony for the eyes, pendants for the ears, a pearl or a gold nose-ring, some ornament for her neck otherwise a garland, henna for the hands, a girdle for the waist preferably

---

1 Compare P., 619.

2 Compare the account of Barbosa, I, 113.

3 Compare, The Observer, London, January 3, 1932, for a summary of Mr. Joseph Kitchin's report to the Royal Institute of International Affairs wherein he estimates that India absorbed over £600,000,000 worth of gold in less than a century, chiefly in the form of jewellery and ornaments—'ear-rings, nose-rings, bracelets, and toe-rings, or anything which a woman can place on her body'.

4 Compare the remarks of Amīr Khusrau, D.R., 223, how a naturally beautiful woman needs no ornaments or artificial decorations. He did not approve of any except a few light jewelled ornaments for the ear and the neck.

5 Compare P.B., CXVII.

6 Compare the account of Tīmūr, M., 289. In the sack of Delhi, he collected among other things, gold ornaments especially inlaid in vast quantities. For an enumeration of various ornaments see A.A., II, 183–5; *J.D.L.*, 1927, 41–6; K.R.I., 236-7. For present-day ornaments compare Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, 115-6, where almost identical names and terms occur.

with tiny bells, some ornament for the feet, the chewing of betel-leaf, and finally a studied grace of manners.[1] A similar list of male decorations is given as follows: a properly kept beard, a clean and properly washed body, the *tilaka* mark on the forehead, rubbing of scents and scented oil over the body, gold ear-rings, a suitable tunic (*qabā*) with bands on the left side, the golden ends of a turban or a *mukuta* (karā) tucked up in front, a sheathed sword which was carried in the hand, a dagger tied to the waist, a finger-ring, proper foot-wear, and finally the chewing of betel-leaf.[2]

VI. Food.—We shall conclude this discussion with some general remarks about food and table manners. Great care was taken in preparing food of a great variety.[3] The laity was conspicuous for its love of flesh, but the priest, too, was far from what is commonly associated with the life of an ascetic. The Brāhman and the Muslim theologian were both well known for their greedy appetite. Ascetics who persisted in living a simple life and in eating sparingly, were very few.[4] Even the offerings to the gods were sometimes choice articles of food, for instance, *Pūrīs* and *Gūnjās*.[5] The people, especially those of the upper classes, displayed magnificent hospitality. It has already been related that 'Imād-ul-mulk, the muster-master of Sultān Balban used to feed a whole secretariat every day at mid-day with fifty big trays full of choice dishes.[6] We shall revert to the subject of hospitality again in a later chapter, when we deal with the subject of manners. Let us observe here that the royal kitchen permanently catered for a vast number of people at the palace. There were two separate menus—the *khās*, for the Sultān and those who dined with him; and the '*ām* for a numerous crowd of theologians and other religious dignitaries, members of the royal family, and some other nobles whom we noticed in the royal establishments in an earlier chapter.[7]

There was a great fondness for mushy dishes and everything was ground, minced, braised or fried. Spices and butter were used in large quantities. As if the spices were not enough to 'whip up the action of the stomach', a great number of *āchārs* (pickles) and relishes were used. For desserts and sweets *halwas*

---

1 Compare A.A., II, 183. 2 *Ibid.*

3 We have omitted a detailed description of feasts and banquets or the enumeration of popular and choice dishes which may be consulted in the work of Malik Muhammad Jāisī, the account of Ibn Batūta and especially in the *Kitāb-i-Ni'mat-khāna-i-Nāsir Shāhī* (I.O. ms).

4 Compare the account of Barbosa, I, 217 for the typical Brāhman who starts on a six days' journey with the prospect of 'a good belly-full'. Compare Macauliffe, VI, 111 for a saint who prays to God for '*dāl* (pulses), flour, *ghī* (clarified butter), shoes, good clothes, the seven sorts of corn, milch cows, buffaloes, a good wife'—even a Turkistānī mare.

5 Compare the description of Malik Muhammad Jāisī, P. (hin), 429. *Pūrīs* are like patties of fine flour fried in butter, *Gūnjās* are like pies of minced meat, fried in butter.

6 Compare B., 116. 7 Compare K.R., II, 38-9.

of a variety, sweet *sambosas*, *sherbet* (sweet drink) and dried fruits were taken.[1] Fresh water was ordinarily drunk, at a later date in goblets. Iced water was a rarity even for the Sultāns. Akbar was more fortunate in this respect, for his kitchens was regularly supplied with provisions of ice in summer.[2] At the close of meals, betel-leaves and areca-nuts were usually taken, sometimes scented.[3] On an average, three meals were taken among the well-to-do classes, namely, the morning breakfast, the mid-day meal, and the early evening dinner.[4] There is no record of a supper late in the evening. For the breakfast in the morning, the Hindus usually took *khichrī* or boiled rice and pulses. The Muslims preferred to eat fried bread and *kabābs*.[5] The ordinary Muslim meal consisted of wheat bread, fried bread, and chicken.[6] Hindus, as a rule, were vegetarians.

The banquets and feasts of the old nobility were conspicuous for their Gargentuan measures of every food and other requirements. On an average, one guest was served with twenty to fifty dishes.[7] Making full allowance for their huge appetites and greedy stomachs, it cannot be denied that there was a terrible waste of good food, and this can only be explained in the light of their ideas of social respectability. The abundance of the dining table was the measure of hospitality, and waste was of no consequence, for a crowd of menials, domestics and beggars was always at hand to share in the leavings. One feature of social life which has comparatively gone out of use, was the number of public bakeries, where almost every variety of cooked food and uncooked victuals could be bought at a reasonable price.[8] This was, however, in general opposed to the Hindu ideas of cooking and eating.

We will make a passing reference in this connection to the manners of eating and cooking. The Muslims as a rule abided

---

[1] Compare K.R., II, 87 for desserts; also G., 18, T.W., 131. For *āchārs* and relishes, compare I.K; I., 180 for the provision of green mangoes in season for pickles; K.R., II, 10 for the use of ginger and chillies in pickles.

[2] Fīrūz Tughluq is reported to have secured a few blocks of ice when he went to the Sirmūr Hills. He celebrated the occasion by offering prayers for the soul of the late Sultān Muhammad Tughluq. For Akbar, compare the account of Abu'l Fazl in A.A., II, 6. Khvāndmīr credits Humāyūn with the introduction of goblets in Hindūstān. *Vide* K., 156.

[3] Compare K.R., II, 39; T.S.S., 66.

[4] Compare K.R., *ibid.*

[5] Compare *ibid.*, I, 12; T.D., 101.

[6] Compare an interesting discussion in F.F., 158 which lays down that in case of separation, the wife of a respectable person was entitled to a maintenance allowance which was estimated in accordance with the above standard of diet, that is, fried bread, ordinary white bread, and chicken.

[7] Compare an interesting account of a banquet at Koil (Aligarh) given in honour of Gulbadan Begum by her host, a nobleman. For a small party, no less than fifty goats were slaughtered for the rations of meat alone. *Vide* G., 18. References to the provisions of the royal kitchen have been made earlier.

[8] Compare the account of Baranī, B., 318-9: also T.D., 33.

by the prohibitions of their religion in relation to food, for instance, it is forbidden to take pork and some other flesh foods or eat the flesh of an animal not properly slaughtered. Beyond these limits they were free to cook and eat whatever and wherever they liked. They had very few objections to eating from the hands of another person, except perhaps from the lowest.[1] The Hindus on the other hand stuck to their intricate arrangements of cooking and eating (*chauka*). They generally believed that purity of thought could only be attained by not being seen by others when eating food.[2]

For the preparation of a meal the whole of the kitchen floor and a part of the enclosing walls, or if the operations had to be performed in the open, as much of the space as was required for cooking and eating purposes had to be plastered with cow-dung and earth. A Hindu stripped himself of clothes except his *dhotī* or loin cloth, before eating. If the Hindu belonged to the Brāhman caste, especially of the sub-caste of *Agnihotris* and a few others, he or his wife cooked their food personally and the cooking, as well as the eating, was concealed from public view.[3]

Among the Rājputs, a special significance attached to the *daunā* or the custom of sending the dish from which a chief had partaken to somebody whom he chose to favour and honour. In Mewār, the custom of *daunā* was understood to determine or validate the legitimacy and the royal blood of a person who was thus favoured.[4]

Amusements and Recreations.

On the whole, the period under review is marked by its joys and pleasures. Everybody appears to have an extraordinary sense of repose and leisure except when disturbed by an invading

---

1 Some examples, especially from among the Afghān religious enthusiasts, have come down to us which show that they had adopted the exclusive manners and the patent prejudices of the Hindus. The Samarras of Sind are similarly reported to eat or dine with none but those of their own clan.

2 Compare Macauliffe, I, 344; VI. 98.

3 Compare Macauliffe, I, 132, for a description; also A.A., II, 172-3, for Hindu manners in eating. It is worth while recalling in this connection that the correspondent of the 'Daily Telegraph', London, reported as follows on the departure of a famous Brāhman Congress Leader from Bombay to attend the Round Table Conference in London (*vide* 'Daily Telegraph', 4th September, 1931):—

'In addition (to 120 quarts of ritualistic pasteurised milk for consumption on the journey) he has brought twenty gallons of water from the sacred Ganges river for ablution and drinking purposes . . . Oddest of all the luggage is a consignment of nearly half a ton of mud from the Ganges which the Pundit is bringing with him. Belonging to the highest priestly caste, the Pundit, it is explained, converts the sacred mud into miniature gods for worshipping purposes.' The last item of the news was later contradicted by his son from London.

4 Compare the account of Tod, I, 370.

army which, however, was not a very long interruption, or on the whole a very unpleasant one. People used to carry about swords like walking sticks and made skilful use of them when occasions arose. In fact, military exercises began to occupy a sacred place in the scheme of life, not very dissimilar to what at other times was occupied by religious worship and prayers.[1] It was the pride and the dream of a warrior not to be captured alive by an enemy in open fight. He either came out with full honours of victory and with numerous scars or lay dead on the field of battle in a state of greater glory.[2] These conditions radically changed with the introduction of guns and gun-powder, for the latter rendered the old-time crude weapons almost ineffective.

We have mentioned these facts to emphasize that the amusements and pleasures of the age were strongly influenced by its military characteristics. All the writers emphasize the two aspects of social life which were complementary to one another—the *razm* or warfare and *bazm* or social pleasures. The average respectable man was something of an active soldier, which entailed great exertion. After the fighting was over, he made up for his physical exertion by indulgence in physical pleasures and recreative games.[3] The common people, whose occupation was anything but exciting, enjoyed themselves with periodical festivals and occasional pilgrimages to religious places.

I. *Military and Physical Sports.*

To begin with military sports, polo, fencing, wrestling, horse-racing, dog-racing, arrow-shooting, and a variety of other games were popular all over the country. In the Deccan and among the Rājputs, offended honour never failed to challenge

---

[1] Compare for instance *Hidāyat-ur-rāmī*, f. 5, where the author insists that the bow should only be used in a state of canonical purity of body and after the performance of ablutions. The *Ādāb-ul-Harb* similarly explains that it is wrong to imagine that the gifts of God are confined to soul, wisdom and intelligence alone. They also extend to the use of weapons of wood and iron (*vide* A.H., 55). The author explains in another connection that every person should learn fearlessness, pride, tenacity of purpose, keenness, aggressiveness in attack, industry, perseverance, patience, loyalty, and watchfulness from various wild and domestic animals. The various forms of amusements and sports were designed to cultivate all these virtues of an ideal soldier. Every gentleman, so the author emphasizes, should know swordsmanship, wrestling, polo, stick-fencing, the handling of the pellet-bow and even the Hindu *chakra* (disc). (*ibid.*, 153-4). Compare also the indulgence of young Akbar in all kinds of amusements, as for instance camel-riding, horse-racing, hound-racing, polo, and pigeon-flying, and Abu'l Fazl's comments thereon. A.N., II, 317-8.

[2] Compare the typical sentiments of a warrior of the age in P. (hin), 289.

[3] Compare for a parallel, Salzmann, 29, on the character of English mediæval pleasures.

the offender to a duel. In the dominions of the Sultān, however, there existed an organized system of administration which prevented the recognition of private vengeance as an honourable and legitimate form of redress.[1] The place of duels was usually taken by physical feats to decide the claims of superiority between two contending rivals. Wrestling (*kushtī*, *dangal*) was a favourite form of diversion. In fact every nobleman and commoner received some sort of instruction in this art. The monarchs and even the religious saints encouraged wrestling, employed famous wrestlers, watched the matches, and even joined in person in feats of wrestling.[2]

Archery was everywhere popular. We have referred in another connection to the manufacture of pellet-bows and arrows. Let us make a note of the fact here that spectacular feats of shooting arrows were staged from time to time, and the champions of shooting acquired fame and renown in the land.[3] Sword-play, throwing of discs (*chakra*) and javelins were similarly popular. Swimming was generally encouraged and Bābur's feats of swimming are well known. Among minor games,

---

1 Compare Tod, I, 413, for an illustration from Rājput history. Compare Barbosa, I, 190-1, for a description of duel arrangements in the Deccan. A challenge was duly sent to the offender, and after it was accepted, royal permission to fight a duel was sought and usually granted. The day and the hour were then fixed by mutual arrangement. Seconds were chosen who selected the weapon with which the combatants were to engage in the duel, that of the one being of 'the same length as that of the other'. When the duel was fought, the King and the court also watched the spectacle. The traveller further adds that such duels were almost a daily feature of life in the South.

2 Compare W.M., 35*b*, for instruction in wrestling. Compare the interesting account of Prince Akbar and his cousin, the son of Mīrzā Kāmrān in A.N., I, 248. They quarrelled over the possession of a drum and the matter was decided by their engaging in wrestling, when Akbar subdued his cousin. Mīrzā Kāmrān watched the spectacle all the time. Similarly on the occasion of circumcising young Akbar, Humāyūn gave entertainments and feasts. He further asked his nobles to choose their rivals for a wrestling match and himself joined the match, wrestling with one named Imām Qulī. Compare B.N., 339, for the favourite wrestler of Bābur named Sādiq who beat another famous champion named Kalāl, whereupon the Mughal Emperor rewarded him with a gift of 10,000 Tankas, a fine horse and other articles to the value of 3,000 Tankas. Compare Macauliffe, II, 15, for Sikh tradition.

3 Compare K., 149, for the 'Īd displays of the Emperor Humāyūn. On arrival at the 'Īd Maidān the monarch was greeted by his guard with a show of marksmanship. At some height they used to fit gold and silver targets made in the form of melons. Then advancing in military formation they used to shoot their arrows. Instantly the targets were shattered into bits through their excellent marksmanship. Humāyūn rewarded the display with handsome gifts of horses and of dresses of honour. Compare also the account of Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī, 9-10, for a famous Afghān marksman named Sikandar Shirwānī. He was a young man of exceptionally robust build. He could fit an arrow 11 fists in length (i.e. more than 4 feet) to his bow and shoot it up to a distance of 800 steps (about 800 yards).

we may mention the popularity of a sort of hockey in Kashmīr and of ball-throwing (*geru*) in Bengal.[1]

Polo and Horse-racing, etc.—The most aristocratic of outdoor games was polo, and of amusements, horse-racing. The precise origin of polo is still difficult to fix. The game has been traced as far back as the reign of the founder of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia.[2] It was introduced by the Muslims into Hindūstān, where it soon became popular among all classes. In fact, the first Sultān of Delhi, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak died of an accident in playing polo at Lahore.[3] The Turks were very fond of the game ; one of the emblems of court offices was represented by a polo-stick and ball of gold. The popularity of the game did not suffer when at a later date the kingdom passed into the hands of the Afghāns.[4] The Rājput skill in playing polo was similarly very high.[5]

Horse-racing was just as popular. It had the additional advantage of the blessings of the Prophet who had prohibited other amusements and gambling in no uncertain terms, but was indulgent towards betting on horse-racing. A regular literature soon sprang up on the study of the habits, the food, the nourishment, the care and the training of horses, which does credit to the scientific methods of the age.[6] It is quite reasonable to infer from these facts that the number of pedigree horses was quite large in the studs of the Sultāns and the nobles. Special Arab horses were imported for racing purposes from Yemen, Oman, Fars. Each animal is reported to have cost from one thousand to four thousand Tankas.[7]

The game of polo was played substantially as it is to-day.[8] For horse-racing, the skill of Rājputs and Gujarātīs, among others,

---

1 Compare the account in *J.D.L.*, 1925, 52. Compare Temple, 208, for hockey. Sir Denison Ross has a painting of the reign of Jahāngīr, the Mughal Emperor which depicts a game of hockey in progress, played by polo sticks, while the Emperor is watching it. The game of polo had, it appears, a direct influence on the development of hockey.

2 Compare Sykes, I, 466. Hārūn-ur-Rashīd was the first Abbasid Caliph who played polo. Mu'tasim improved upon it in certain directions. Marwān was also fond of it. *Vide* Sprenger, 25. Compare T.I., 455, for the skill of Uljaitu, the Mongol Sultān of Persia in polo playing.

3 Compare the account in T.M., 84-5; Raverty, 528.

4 Compare for Afghāns M.T., I, 321, 323, also T.D., 3 when an Afghān nobleman carries his unsportive spirit beyond the limits of propriety and fairness.

5 Compare P. (hin), 285, for Rājput skill. Compare also Barbosa, I, 119, for the skill of the Gujarātīs (or the people of Gujarāt) in polo playing; with them polo was as popular as the 'reed game' in Portugal.

6 Compare for instance *Ādāb-ul-Harb* for chapters on horse breeding. Compare T., 20, for religious prohibition of dog-racing which positively ruined all the good deeds of a man.

7 Compare K.R., I, 200.

8 Compare Encyclopædia Britannica (1929 Edition), XVIII, 175, for the modern game. 'Polo is played with four players on each side, on

was praiseworthy.[1] We shall not be wrong in inferring that the Turks and Afghāns and in fact all ruling classes of Hindūstān had attained a very high degree of skill in horsemanship.

The elephants of the royal stables used to be trained in paying homage to the monarch with ceremony. At a given signal from their keeper, the animals used to put their foreheads on the ground and then raise their trunks and trumpet. They were also trained to pick up an article from the ground, keeping it in their mouths or handing it over to the keeper as they were directed. There could hardly be any other use of these costly military accessories during the time of peace. At times, they were also taken out for riding or for conveying heavy loads.[2]

Shikār (*the chase*).—All other amusements and exercises, however, gave way to the chase in excitement and stimulation. Voluminous literature was compiled by the Arabs on the study and breeding of hunting animals and birds, long before the Muslims were established in Hindūstān.[3] The Muslims brought all these advanced traditions of the chase with them to India together with the memories of the Sassanian monarchs, who were famous hunters of their age. In other parts of Asia, the same ruling passion for the chase and the same elaborate equipment had gone still further ahead.[4] Almost every important monarch from the time of the founder of the Slave dynasty, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, to the reign of Akbar, was fond of the chase and spent as much time over it as he could spare from his royal duties and other pleasures. Even when the Sultāns were not very fond of hunting they maintained large

---

exactly the same principles as hockey or association football A match lasts about one hour, divided into periods of play; during the intervals ponies are changed . . . So there are two forwards and two backs. But during the course of the game as the players pass the ball to one another these places are being constantly changed. The modern game is a most elastic one, but there should always be one player in each place (i.e. at No. 1, No. 2, No. 3 or half-back and No. 4 or back). Compare the account of Amīr Khusrau in his *Kulliyāt*, folios 777-8, where he describes the two opposing teams of four players, the intervals of play and the scoring with the ball which determined the issue of the game. He describes the movement of the team of Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh (including the Sultān) as a man 'sitting in a crescent'. It may be added incidentally that the account of the introduction and historical development of Polo in India as given in the Encyclopædia Britannica is incorrect.

1 Compare P. (hin), 285, for Rājput skill in horsemanship; also Barbosa, I, 119, for Gujarātīs.

2 Compare the account of Tīmūr M., 288; compare Mirza, 147, for a reference from Khusrau. Oil-cans were put under the feet of the elephants to smooth the roughness of their feet.

3 Compare *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1907. Phillots on the '*Kitāb-ul-Bayzarah*' composed in the 10th century; compare also references to the breeding of hunting animals and birds in I.K., II, 60.

4 Compare Huart, 146, for the Persian tradition. Compare the account of Marco Polo for the chase of Kublai Khān and his personal impressions. Yule, I, 397-403. Compare Major, 4, for the presents of hunting animals to the Great Khān as an illustration.

establishments for Shikār.[1] The Rājput were similarly fond of the chase; in fact the famous spring hunt, known as the 'Aheria' was sacred to Gaurī, and no means were neglected for slaying boar on this historic occasion in the month of Phālguna. The hour of sallying forth was fixed in all solemnity by the astrologers; and the success or failure of the occasion determined the fortune for the rest of the year.[2] The Muslim theologians on the whole reconciled themselves to the chase.[3]

We may add here some remarks on the royal establishment for the chase. Every Sultān had very large establishments which included vast numbers of animals trained specially for the chase, and very large areas reserved as royal preserves. Under Fīrūz Tughluq the Shikār department was considered as one of the 'pillars of the State'.[4] The Shikār department was organized under an *Amīr-i-shikār* who was usually a noble of rank, together with other officials of similar status. Under these senior officials came minor officers for the care and

---

[1] Compare the accounts of the chase of Sultāns of Delhi: T.M., I, 6, for the description of the chase of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak; also K.K., 740-1, where Amīr Khusrau speaks of his occupations: 'He bagged both the fowls in the air and the animals on land'. Compare B., 54-5, for Sultān Balban. His favourite season was winter when he used to start very early in the morning towards Rewārī and returned next day at midnight. He was accompanied by a thousand horsemen whom he knew individually and a thousand troopers who were fed from the royal kitchen. His return to the capital was announced by beat of drums. Compare B., 272-3; also M.T., I, 148, for an account of the chase of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. His favourite method was the *Narga* or the formation of a beaters circle (which by the way is the predecessor of the Mughal *Qamragha*), which assembled about sunrise when they were joined by the Sultān. Compare E.D., III, 579-80, for an account of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq's *Shikār* equipment. He employed 10,000 falconers who rode on horseback in the chase, 3,000 beaters, 3,000 provision dealers, and others. Four collapsible double-storied houses were carried in his train by 200 camels, together with tents, canopies and a variety of pavilions. Compare A., 178-9, for Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq, whose only hobbies were the construction of buildings and going to the chase, when he thoroughly enjoyed himself. 'He brought devastation and ruin in the animal kingdom through shooting one with arrow, chasing another on horseback and releasing his falcon for the third on its wings'. Compare the account of Baranī to the same purport. (*Vide* B., 599–600.) Sikandar Lodī spent most of his time in the chase and the game of polo. *Vide* T.A., I, 322. Bābur and his men did not forget the pleasure of the chase even while they were marching towards Lahore. *Vide* T.F., I, 378. With Akbar, *Shikār* was a favourite sport.

[2] Compare Tod, II, 660.

[3] The employment of dogs, hounds and falcons creates many intricate and complex problems in relation to the religious validity of the game and, further, its suitability for eating by a Muslim. The 'Ulamā on the whole reconciled themselves to the employment of falcons and hawks and even of dogs, 'provided they were trained in hunting the game and did not spoil too much of the flesh by gnawing'. *Vide* T., 20.

[4] Compare A., 316. Compare for confirmation, the fact that two distinguished nobles of the rank of *Maliks* supervised the Shikār department of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq.

keeping of royal falcons and other hunting animals and birds, known as *'Ārizān-i-Shikār*, *Khāssa-dārān* and *Mihtarān* respectively. Under them came a numerous staff of *Shikra-dārs* who carried the animals and birds on the day of the chase. The services of practically all the big game hunters and watchers of the kingdom were secured by this department. All kinds of hunting animals and birds—elephants, hounds, trained 'cheetahs', lynxes, falcons, and hawks were collected in large numbers.[1] It was an old Persian tradition to build great walled enclosures as royal preserves for wild and domestic animals.[2] A large piece of land extending to about twelve krohs (about 24 miles) was secured near Delhi to serve as a State preserve.[3] It may be remembered in this connection that the *Shikār* regulations were probably very strict and small defaults were severely dealt with.[4]

Deer, nilgai and common fowl were the popular game; rhinoceros and wolves were found in the hills of the Punjāb.[5] It was the privilege of the monarch to hunt a lion whenever the animal was found.[6] Fishing was popular with some monarchs.[7] Others probably found it very unexciting in comparison with the pleasures of the chase.

We shall conclude this account of the chase with a few more remarks on royal hunting. Though the facts of the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq may not have a very close bearing on the reigns of his predecessors and successors, they will give us a fair idea of the royal *Shikār* equipment. 'Afīf, his chronicler, informs us that when Fīrūz Tughluq used to go out for the chase, a big procession was formed. Forty to fifty special standards and

---

1 Compare B., 600; T.F., I.287. Compare the account of 'Afīf for details. A., 317–9.

2 Compare Huart, 146, for Persian tradition. '(Hunting) was done in great walled parks, formerly called 'Paradises' in which lions, boars and bears were preserved. Theophanes tells us that the soldiers of the Roman Emperor Heraclius found, in the gardens abandoned by Chosroes II, ostriches, gazelles, wild asses, peacocks, pheasants, and even lions and tigers.'

3 Compare the account of the royal preserve at Delhi in B., 54.

4 Compare the account of Abu'l Fazl in this connection. In his youth Akbar was so fond of the chase that when on one occasion the hound-keepers were somewhat negligent in their duties, the prince put them in halters like common hounds and ordered them to be paraded round the camp in this condition. When the Emperor Humāyūn came to know of this, he was exceedingly pleased at this exhibition of tact and authority on the part of the Prince. *Vide* A.N., I, 318.

5 Compare for instance T.F., I, 378, also T.M.S., 410; B.N., 229; A., 243. The term '*Karkadan*' occurs in the text, which, as Abu'l Fazl makes clear by his description (*vide* A.A., II, 58), applies to the rhinoceros.

6 Compare A., 324.

7 Compare for instance, the account of 'Afīf for Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. A., 328. Compare B.N., 355, for Bābur's account of his fishing in the Gogra by candle light.

two specially designed emblems, adorned with peacock feathers, accompanied him. The emblems were carried in front of the Sultān on both sides. Just behind them were four trained wild animals and birds of prey, to the left and right of the monarch respectively. A vast number of other animals, namely, cheetahs, panthers, lynxes, hounds, eagles, and falcons with their keepers on horseback followed the Sultān. Ibn Batūta informs us that a great many nobles used to go with the Sultān to the chase with their tents and canopies and a big crowd of porters and attendants. The chase of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq sometimes lasted from seventeen to eighteen days at a stretch.[1]

II. *Indoor Amusements.*

Jashn, or social parties.—The popular term for social parties and entertainments was *Jashn.* When they spoke of organizing a *Jashn,* it usually brought to the mind of the hearer such items of entertainments as vocal and instrumental music, dainty wines, dried fruits and indoor games such as chess, *chaupar,* etc. It was usual to decorate the rooms where the guests assembled with rich carpets. Aloe-wood and incense were constantly burning there. Rose-water was frequently sprinkled over the party for its refreshing and cooling effect. Fruits were neatly served in silver and golden fruit-trays. But the most entertaining item was the wine which was served by very handsome cup-bearers together with some spiced and seasoned dishes (like *kabābs*) for relish. So that, as a result, 'the covers of the goblets of wine' (to borrow the figurative language of Amīr Khusrau) 'looked holier than a prayer carpet'.[2]

The serious business commenced after sunset when the musicians and dancers began their performance, and the wine cups went round. When the performers had stirred the emotions of the audience to fever heat, gold and silver were frequently showered on them at intervals. In the small hours of the morning the whole scene began to fade away before the weary eyes, and people dropped into sleep through sheer exhaustion.[3] Entertainments on these broad lines were a regular feature of official celebrations. Certain festival days were fixed for public *Jashns.* When State envoys or any distinguished guest arrived, similar celebrations were held. The Mughal Emperor Akbar added to the number of existing official celebrations a dozen more from the Persian Calendar.[4]

---

[1] Compare the account of 'Afīf. A., 317–19; also K.R., II, 82.

[2] Compare the descriptions of parties and items of entertainment I.K., II, 241-2, 271; Q.S., 129-30. The royal parties usually described as *Majlis-i-Jashn, Jashn Darbārs* have been referred to earlier.

[3] Compare B.N., 330*b*.

[4] Compare A., 278, for the days of official celebrations under Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. Jashn parties were fixed for the two *'Ids,* the

We have a connected record of the numerous banquets and festivities arising out of these royal *Jashns*. There is an almost tiresome repetition of the familiar features, namely 'the fairy-faced dancers', the 'musk-smelling wines', the drinking cups made of marble, the flower-carpets and other rich decorations, and the abundance of everything. Sometimes royal poets add to the liveliness of the occasion by their laudatory verses: at others, the courtiers enhance the gaiety and cheerfulness by their wit and humour.[1] In some respects these pleasure parties were very different from the official public *darbār* we have described elsewhere. In contrast to the dignity and the solemn appearance of a monarch in *darbār*, he was anything but conventional and ceremonial in these private parties. If there were a few chosen people in the party, he 'left off the vanity that appertains to kingship'. The courtiers and guests were

---

Nau-roz, the entertainment of distinguished State guests, and in connection with the reception of envoys and other State functions. Compare A.A., I, 200, for official *Jashns* under Akbar.

[1] Compare an account of Jashns in various chronicles. Hasan Nizāmī describes the parties of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak and Iltutmish. In one place the author, by no means a man of secular outlook becomes so enthusiastic in describing wines 'the source of happiness and the treasure of gaiety' that he parts with his orthodox professions for the moment and frankly avows that drinking is quite legitimate and permissible (*halāl*) for every sensible man and is prohibited only in the case of fools who are obsessed with the *Sharī'at*. Iltutmish used to go out for the chase and polo after these Jashn parties. *Vide* T.M. (II), 63–5. Compare the account of Baranī for the *Jashns* of the austere Sultān Balban. Like Sultan Sanjar and Khvārazm Shāh, the parties of Balban were organized on a gigantic scale. Flower carpets and curtains of brocade were used to decorate the halls; the service was gold and silver and there was abundance of all kinds of fruits, sweets, drinks, and betel-leaves. The guests attended in gorgeous costumes. The court poets recited their poems. *Vide* B., 32. Mubārak Shāh Khaljī was a gay monarch at his best. To celebrate the birth of his eldest son, he organized a *Jashn*, to some decorations of which we have already referred. Arched pavilions were constructed in the city and decorated with velvet and brocade curtains, after being lined with silks. The royal band played in the small cabinet at the top of this arch. All round the place, Persian and Indian musicians and dancers performed. The Sultān also held a *darbar* on the occasion and distributed lavish gifts in honour of the event. *Vide* K.K., 768–72.

On the return of Humāyūn from the Bihar campaign, his mother organized a grand banquet in his honour. The soldiers and the market people were especially commanded to decorate their lodgings and shops, which gave the thoroughfares of the city a beautiful appearance. A special throne was constructed in the banquet hall, to receive the Emperor. It was furnished with cushions and pillows of brocade. The State canopy used on this occasion was lined with English brocade and Portuguese velvet and was supported on gilded poles. Other articles of furniture, namely, candle-stands, ewers, wash-basins, goblets, rose-water sprinklers, etc. were all worked in gold and enamel. 7,000 dresses of honour and 12 rows of mules and pack camels, 100 pack horses, and 70 fine stallions were distributed in honour of the occasion. *Vide* G., 28-9. Similar entertainments under Akbar sometimes lasted for eighteen days when thousands of male and female singers and dancers were engaged to perform. *Vide* A.A., II, 309.

permitted to take off their heavy overcoats and to be generally at their ease. There was no particular reserve in conversation and matters of high policy of the State as well as smaller affairs were discussed with perfect geniality and ample freedom.[1]

Similar parties or Jashns on a very large scale were held on certain official occasions by the Sultāns. We have mentioned the festivities and lavish gifts in connection with royal coronations. Big parties of an informal character followed the official celebrations and a great many officials and dignitaries were invited. Similarly other occasions served for inviting large numbers of officials and even common people to share in the happiness of the monarch.

We shall describe in this connection certain new additions that were made by Mughal emperors to the existing features of a royal *Jashn*. We have mentioned earlier that Humāyūn introduced the system of river picnics on the Jumna and built for that purpose a double-storeyed building of wood on four giant boats containing all sorts of provisions for a pleasure party. The Emperor used to go out with chosen favourite nobles and ladies on the Jumna to enjoy himself with music and dancing. The 'Mystery House' to which a reference has already been made was sometimes converted to serve for a social party. In such a case, the water of the octagonal tank was emptied and the floor was spread with rich Persian carpets. An elevated dais was raised for the monarch and the visitors, and musicians made themselves comfortable on the floor. The whole building was tastefully decorated with brocade and embroidered cloth. The two side rooms on the ground floor were furnished with the necessary number of bedsteads, betel-leaf boxes, goblets, drinking vessels, and other furniture for lodging the monarch. The top floor was decorated with weapons and armour, prayer-carpets, books and ink-stands and specimens of calligraphy and paintings, to serve probably as the retiring room for the royal party. Fruits, drinks, and all necessities, were provided in the building. Sometimes, the water reservoir was used for bathing and people entered it, after taking preventives for cold, to stay and enjoy themselves all day long.[2]

Humāyūn similarly instituted the system of what came to be known as *Mīnā Bāzārs* under his son and successor. These were not separate and elaborate bazaars; only six stalls were constructed in the double-storeyed building on the boats to which we referred above. A miniature orchard was laid out on the boat and pots of flowers were provided, to give the whole place a most pleasant appearance. The stalls were supervised by ladies of rank

---

[1] Compare B. (MS.) 107, for a description of the parties of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī; also Vambery, 55, for the conversation of the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Reis with Humāyūn.

[2] Compare K., 135–7, for details.

and position who were chosen to act as saleswomen, while the Emperor went about bargaining and buying.[1] Under Akbar this system of bazars was greatly elaborated. Instead of modest stalls there was now a bazar, where the ladies and the Emperor in turn acted as customers and salesmen. This was a regular market and all sorts of merchandise was sold. In fact, a regular treasurer and auditor were appointed to look after this section of the royal activity. We know very little about these intriguing affairs beyond what Abu'l Fazl chooses to tell us. According to him the purchases of the Emperor were nothing but 'an excuse for acquainting himself with information of all kind' through his fair dealers. There was a great degree of freedom and accessibility in these Mīnā Bazars. For instance, when the Emperor acted as salesman and dealer, the ladies and other persons approached his stall without any interference or interruption on the part of the royal guards and ushers. So that apart from bargaining over an article, people used the opportunity to tell him all their grievances and sorrows.[2]

Indoor Games.—For lighter amusement, a variety of indoor games was played, both with and without stakes. Chess, *Chaupar*, *Nard* (Persian backgammon) and cards were all popular with every class of the people. A fierce controversy went on in orthodox circles over the religious validity of these amusements. Orthodox opinion was unanimous in condemning gambling of all kinds. Some clever theologians even discovered a tradition of the Prophet purporting to declare that the playing of *Nard* was a sin. A similar weighty exposition of their case was attributed to the wise 'Alī, who was reported to have considered chess as detrimental to proper intellectual development. The case of the opposition was simple and was based entirely on common sense and personal experience. They considered both chess and Persian backgammon as two excellent aristocratic recreations which were quite harmless and refined and warmly defended the wide popularity of these games.[3] The authority of sacred injunctions could hardly influence them to change this realistic view of their amusements.

(*a*) *Chess.*—Chess, according to all accounts, was considered to be the aristocrat of all indoor games. 'It is impossible to live without some kind of recreation' said the wise Hārūn-ur-Rashīd, 'and for a monarch, I can suggest no better diversion than chess'.[4] Such was the position the game had occupied in India since ancient times. Our period was especially happy in the progress of the game and a famous Indian chess player named Abu'l Fath Hindī occupied an international position and

---

[1] Compare the account of Gulbadan G. 31 for details.
[2] Compare A.A., I, 200-1.
[3] Compare the details of the controversy in T.I., 171.
[4] Compare *ibid.*, 163.

fame for his proficiency in the game.[1] Hasan Nizāmī, Amīr Khusrau, and Malik Muhammad Jāisī make numerous references to the game of chess which reflects its wide popularity among all classes. Jāisī in particular depicts a realistic scene in which Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Rājā Ratan Sen engage to play a game of chess inside the Rājput fortress of Chitor.[2] The Indian origin of chess has sometimes been disputed on insufficient grounds. The point was not so much in dispute in the time of Amīr Khusrau who is an enthusiastic advocate of the Indian origin of chess. Historical evidence is not wanting to prove that the claim of India is indisputable.[3] Besides the present game of chess, another variety referred to as *Shatranj-i-kāmil* or 'quadruple chess' was also played during this period.[4]

(*b*) *Chaupar, playing cards, etc.*—The Indian origin of *Chaupar* has never been disputed. It is an ancient game which is played even nowadays under three different names—*Pachīsī*, *Chausar*, and *Chaupar*, the difference consisting not in the rules of the game or in the manner of playing but in minor and negligible respects.[5] The game of Chaupar was played, as it is to-day, with sixteen pieces in four sets each of a different colour.

---

[1] Compare Bland, 17.

[2] Compare T.M., 12, for a description of Hasan Nizāmī in metaphors borrowed from the game of chess. Similar descriptions of Amīr Khusrau in *I'jāz-i-khusravī* and other works. Compare the account of Malik Muhammad Jāisī in P. (hin), 257.

[3] Compare the opinion of Amīr Khusrau, K.K., f. 709. Mr. Bland is an advocate of the Persian origin. Irwin, in his book on chess claims to have successfully traced the origin of chess to China, the home of many inventions. He bases his opinion on some very ancient Chinese MS. (which he did not examine for himself) and attributes the discovery to the talents of a Chinese general who wanted to engage his soldiers in a game, to keep them away from politics. Macdonnel in *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, 'Origin and early history of Chess' has made it clear that there is positive evidence of an Indian embassy visiting Chosrau Anusharvān towards the end of the sixth century and of the introduction of chess in Persia through this embassy at about the same time. The story of the Indian embassy to Persia is found in every important Muslim history that deals with the subject. *Nard* is claimed to have been introduced into Hindūstān from Persia on the return of this embassy.

[4] This 'Quadruple chess' (*Chaturājī*, 'the four king game') according to Macdonnel is referred to by a Sanskrit writer of the late 15th and early 16th century, though it existed much earlier. This game was played by four persons with two dice, each piece moving according to the number of the throw. A board of 64 squares was used for this game, with 32 figures forming four groups of eight, each group consisting of a king, elephant, horse, and chariot in the first row and four foot soldiers in front of them in the second. It was so arranged that the chariot always occupied the left-hand corner of the side facing the player. Thus there were four kings, each attended by figures representing the four members of the army, while the minister was absent. It is difficult to account for the origin and development of this game, but Bland supports the Persian claim. This 'quadruple chess' was played by Tīmūr and is supposed to be the parent of the ordinary chess, which, according to this theory, is its abridged form. See Bland, 5-6.

[5] Compare Crooke's Herklot, etc., 333–5, for modern *chaupar*.

The game is generally played by four players in teams of two each. Each player has four pieces with him which he moves on the diagram of chaupar according to the throw of the dice (or nowadays, of cowries). The diagram of chaupar may be described as follows :—take two sets of two parallel lines crossing one another at right angles in the middle. This intersection of the four lines forms a square in the centre and four rectangles adjoining the four lines of this square. Leaving the central square as it is, the four rectangles are divided into 24 squares in three rows of eight squares each.[1] The playing of chaupar was especially popular among the Hindus, particularly among the Rājputs. The Mughal Emperor Akbar later substituted human figures for the pieces of chaupar and turned it into the amusing game of *Chandal-mandal*.[2]

Mention may be made in this connection of the game of *Nard* or the Persian backgammon, which was introduced into Hindūstān very early in the Muslim period. All kinds of refinements were introduced in making its board and pieces.[3] *Nard* was played on a wooden board, square in shape and divided into 24 squares of equal size. It was played with thirty pieces in two sets of fifteen, each set of one distinct colour.[4] It was on the lines of *Nard* that Humāyūn introduced a game in which human pieces were set in motion.[5] The tradition mentions the popular fact that *Nard* was brought to India from Persia in return for chess which was introduced there from this country.

The playing of cards (*Ganjafa*) appears to have been first introduced into Hindūstān by the Mughal Emperor Bābur.[6] Akbar seems to have made certain improvements in the game which became widely popular during his reign. The old Mughal pack of cards was made up of eight suits of twelve cards each, the Queen and the Jack of the present pack being replaced by one *Wazīr* or Premier. The old Mughal cards have not gone out of use altogether, even now.[7]

---

[1] Compare A.A., I, 218-9, for a diagram of *chaupar* ; also P., 22, for a game in progress. Note that the Kshatriyas still retained their reputation of 'being without equals' in swordsmanship, the virtue of generosity' and of course in gambling by throwing the dice of chaupar. Compare the interesting observations of Macdonnel on the relations of chaupar with the ancient *Chaturanga*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, 140. Compare the popularity of chaupar with Hindu saints. Mīrā Bāī plays a game of chaupar with her favourite god Girdhar (*vide* Macauliffe, 348). Compare P. (hin), 141, for whole description of Malik Muhammad Jāisī in metaphors borrowed from chaupar.

[2] Compare A.A., 219, for a description of Chandal-mandal.

[3] Compare M.T., I, 174, for *Tūrī* a kind of *nard* played by Malik Kāfūr. There are many references to *nard* in *I'jāz-i-Khusravī*.

[4] Compare T.I. (II), 164.

[5] Compare the description of this game in Khvānd Mīr, 155-6.

[6] Compare the account of *Bābur-nāma*, 307.

[7] Compare A.A., I, 220 ; also Crooke's Herklot's Islam, etc., 335.

In all indoor games there is an imperceptible temptation to play for stakes. The Indian tradition of gambling was a very ancient and a hallowed one. In the ordinary game of *Chaupar*, as has been mentioned, a dice or *pānsā* was used. It was a four-sided piece usually made of ivory, the sides marked with one, two, five and six dots respectively. Three such sets were used in playing for stakes.[1] Gambling was by no means confined to the lower classes. Gulbadan relates that when the royal family was in Kābul, Humāyūn used to play games for stakes. He used to distribute twenty gold pieces each among the players, both gentlemen and ladies, which served as a deposit for the stakes.[2]

Among other minor amusements we may mention pigeon flying and cock-fighting. The orthodox Muslims did not object to pigeon flying so strongly as to the 'accursed' cock-fighting. People in general, however, sought their advice and guidance neither in the one nor the other amusement.[3] Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī maintained a regular pigeon-house which appears to have descended to him from his predecessors. With Akbar, especially in his younger days, pigeon-flying became a passion. The young Prince used to feed his own birds and used to call the amusement by the romantic term '*Ishq-bāzī* (love-making).[4]

III. Popular Amusements.

There was a great variety of popular amusements ; religious festivals and periodical pilgrimages to holy shrines provided some of these ; public receptions and official celebrations provided others. Folk-dances, songs, jugglers' tricks, were the share of common people in every-day life, and their hard life and its exacting toil were forgotten from time to time in these innocent recreations.[5]

Hindu Festivals.—In comparison with the Muslim festivals, the religious and social festivals of the Hindus are to be noted for the manner of their celebration and the appropriate seasons in which they occur. They usually synchronise with the seasons of comparative leisure for the peasantry and are as a

---

[1] Compare the account of Āīn-i-Akbarī, II, 190, for the prevalence of gambling in Hindūstān ; P.P., 148, for the use of dice.

[2] Compare G., 77.

[3] Compare the attitude of Muslim orthodoxy to pigeon-flying and cock-fighting in T., 20 ; also I.K., I, 179.

[4] For 'Alā-ud-dīn's pigeon-house, an indirect reference in B., 318 ; A.N., II, 317-8, for Akbar.

[5] Compare the estimate of *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī* regarding the people of Thatta (Sind). 'Other nations possess greater wealth and greater skill, but such light-heartedness and contentment as to labour for one day and to repose for the rest of the week, to have but moderate desires and enjoy boundless ease, this has been reserved for the people of Thatta alone'. *Vide* E.D., I, 274.

rule enjoyed with dances and popular tunes. Ruling dynasties have come and gone ; calamities and disasters have occurred and have been forgotten ; people have suffered and groaned, but the local and general festivals have abided and have always been observed with enthusiasm and gaiety. The introduction of new cults and religious faiths has not changed the character of these popular festivals. On the other hand, the newcomers have only added to their richness and variety. Though these festivals cater for the religious emotions of a few, the vast majority is supremely indifferent to their religious significance. For them they are popular occasions of universal social enjoyment and intercourse.

It is difficult to describe all the local and general festivals. A few of these sprang into special prominence which they maintain even to-day.[1] The most popular festivals were those of *Basant Panchamī*, *Holī*, *Dīvapalī* (or popularly *Dīvālī*), *Śivarātrī*, and others connected with the various incidents of the life of Krishna. The *Basant* festival was the harbinger of spring and occurred in the month of Māgha. It was conspicuous for the singing of songs, folk-dances and the scattering of red powder. In some ways *Holī* was a more important festival, at any rate for the Sudras or the lower classes of Hindus. It was celebrated by huge bon-fires, by popular songs and by the usual scattering of red powder (*gulāl*). The Holī was observed in the month of Phālguna. The night of the 29th of Māgha was the festival of *Śivarātrī*, which was observed by the religious minded with night vigil and prayers. The 25th of the Kārttika was the festival of Dīvālī or Divapali.[2]

All the festivals were celebrated in their own way. For instance the worship of Mahādeva figures prominently in the Basant Panchamī festival. Vermilion and red powder were scattered in such abundance that, to borrow the figure of speech from Malik Muhammad Jāisī, 'everything was red from the earth to the sky'. The young maidens did not forget to take their offerings of fruits and flowers to the temple of Śiva where after washing the emblem of Śiva with sandal and aloe-wood paste and painting it with vermilion, they prayed for the fulfilment of their most intimate wishes, which of course included the wish for a loving spouse. Then, probably after the promise of a second offering to the god, on condition of fulfilment, they returned home.[3] Similarly, for three days on the occasion of the Holī festival, Hindus of all castes and classes drenched everybody, including passers-by, with saffron and coloured

---

[1] Compare Ross, Feasts, etc. for an account of Hindu festivals, pp. 17-18, 35, 75-6, 77.

[2] Compare A.A., II, 188–91, for an account of Hindu festivals.

[3] Compare the account of a characteristic celebration of Basant Panchamī, in Padumāvat, 417–27.

water. On the third day, in the evening, probably the whole population crowded round a huge bon-fire and took omens from it for the prospects of the next harvest.[1] The Śivarātri festival was celebrated with fire-works by the common people, while the more sober and religious minded kept the night vigil. After the customary worship of the goddess Lakshmī, people used to whirl round torches and burning sticks or 'fire-brands'.[2]

Divālī, in some respects was most delightful and pleasing. It is appropriately designated as 'the festival of lights'. Once in a year the spirits of the sainted dead were permitted to return to their earthly homes and familiar surroundings to fraternise with the mortals of this earth. The relations were naturally happy to give the spirits of their forefathers a cheerful welcome. Wick lamps were lighted in vast numbers everywhere, inside and outside their homes and all over the temples and public buildings. The whole place looked like a flood of illumination.[3] It was the most popular festival of the Vaisyas or bankers and other commercial classes. Everybody was anxious to divine his luck for the coming year. Gambling was therefore universally resorted to as a magical means of tracing fortune.[4]

Dasehrā was very popular with the Kshatriyas and all agricultural classes. The festival occurred on the 10th of Jaistha (now also called *Vijay Dasmī*) and the favourite Saivite goddess Durgā was worshipped by the above-mentioned classes. The other prominent feature was the worship of the respective implements of their trade, profession or occupation. The Rājput brought his horse after decorating its forehead with green sprouts of barley; the peasants and craftsmen brought their tools and worshipped them.[5] *Pūrna-māshī* occurred on the full moon of the month of Srāvana and was the favourite festival of the Brāhmans. Rākhīs (or strings made of silk thread and tinsel) were put as wristlets on the hands of young men by the maidens for good luck and affection.

Among the festivals of social importance are chiefly those which celebrate the births of Rāma, Krishna, Parasurāma, and Narasingha. Krishna was the most popular of all the gods during our period and his cult was fast spreading. At Purī, Lord

---

[1] Compare for the celebration of Holī festival, Crooke, Popular Religion, 343; also Frampton, 42, for a description of Nicolo Conti which most probably applies to this festival.

[2] Compare P.P., 135, for a celebration of Śivarātri by the soldiers of Rājā Lakshamana; also Carpenter, 306, for a description of a 'fire-brand'. It was an ancient and familiar boys' game played by whirling a burning stick swiftly through the air, thus producing the impression of a circle of fire.

[3] Compare Crooke, Popular Religion, etc., 346, for an analysis of Divālī. Compare Frampton, 42, for a description of illuminations.

[4] Compare A.A., II, 188–91, for gambling on the occasion of the Divālī festival.

[5] *Ibid.*

Jagannātha was brought out in his car with great pageantry at various times in the year. People behaved towards this idol of Krishna exactly as they would to a living god. He embodied all the purest and the finest emotions of the popular mind. In the land of *Braj* (round about Muttra in the United Provinces) where the god was born and played with his mates and milk-maids, every incident of his life was celebrated with intense devotion. We shall refer later to *Krishna-līlās*.[1]

Among pilgrimages, there were several that became popular. Some of them were made to the shrines or relics of popular saints, others probably to sacred cities as they are to-day. The important river pilgrimages during this period were more or less confined to the Ganges, especially on the first of a lunar month. Large parties of pilgrims travelled together for convenience and safety and took ample provisions to last them on their long journey. On the whole, these pilgrimages must have been pleasant and romantic in those days of arduous travelling and dangers on the road.[2]

Muslim Festivals.—Speaking from the orthodox view-point, Muslim life as a whole has little room for any kind of social festivals. Large numbers make the pilgrimage to Mecca and others attend the '*Īd* prayers. But in every case, the atmosphere of these religious gatherings is too sombre and austere to call them social festivals. However, Indian environment and tradition were bound to react in course of time on this rigidity of Muslim ritual. As a result, although the form of the orthodox religious congregations remained, their nature and purpose underwent a great deal of modification in the environment of Hindūstān. Other new festivals were super-imposed on the Muslim Calendar which were predominantly social and indigenous.

As we have excluded from the present survey the study of modifications in the Muslim rituals and prayers, we shall confine ourselves to the enumeration only of those festivals which were introduced into the orthodox Muslim Calendar. Among the festivals that were officially recognized by the State was the popular Persian festival of *Nau-roz*, to which we had occasion to refer earlier in our treatment. The Nau-roz was a spring festival. It was usually celebrated in large gardens and river-side parks with music and flowers.[3] On the whole its observance was confined to the upper classes of Muslims who were very closely associated with the Sultān. It has more or less died out now in Hindūstān.[4] The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn

---

[1] Compare the account of Chaitanya's biography, Sircar, 164, and Chaitanya's visit to Brindāban.

[2] Compare E.D., I, 273; also Ross, Feasts for Hindu pilgrimages.

[3] Compare I.K., IV, 330, for a description; also K.K., 18, for verses on the occasion.

[4] Compare Ross, Feasts, 110, for the survival of the Nau-roz festival in Murshidābād (Bengal).

was the first monarch who forbade its observance, professedly under religious influence. The usual State banquet on the day of Nau-roz was, however, retained.[1]

The other important festival was that of *Shab Barāt* (' the night of record ') which fell on the 14th day of Sha'bān.[2] It has been aptly described as the ' Guy Fawkes Day of Islām ' although its associations are totally different from the parallel English festival. It professes to commemorate an appropriate legend of Islām, but this is not the whole truth. It is difficult to make a positive assertion, but the *Shab Barāt* festival is probably copied from the Hindu festival of Śivarātri.[3] Some religious enthusiasts spent the whole night of *Shab Barāt* in offering special prayers and reading the Holy Book and other formulæ.[4] Common people spent their time in making merry. The distinguishing features of popular celebration were the extensive use of fire-works and the illumination of homes and mosques.[5]

After the festival became generally prevalent, the Sultāns were not slow to join in the celebrations. It is reported, for instance, that Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq celebrated the festival for four days. On the approach of *Shab Barāt*, he used to collect loads of fire-works and crackers. Four giant piles of these materials were reserved for the Sultān ; one was assigned to his brother, the Bārbak ; one was given to Malik 'Ālī and another to Malik Ya'qūb. Some idea may be formed of these fire-works from the fact that thirty ass-loads of crackers alone were collected. On the successive nights of the 13th, the 14th and the 15th Sha'bān, these fire-works were lighted. The effect of the illumination, as the chronicler describes it, gave to the nights the look of broad daylight. Four big trays-full of these fire-works, accompanied by musicians, were distributed to the crowds of people who gathered to watch the spectacle in Fīrūzābād. During the night of the 15th Sha'bān, gifts were sent to houses of charity and other charitable institutions.[6]

---

[1] K., 150.

[2] Note that the *Shab Barāt* festival is very different from another religious observance called *Lailatul-Qadr* (' Night of power '). The precise date of it is not known, but the consensus of opinion is that it often falls on the 27th night of the month of Ramazān. Compare Ross, Feasts, etc., 111-2, for the modern observance of Shab Barāt. For further details, see Mrs. Mir Hassan Ali's book.

[3] The night vigil and fire-works are elements common to both festivals. Fire-works were also used in the Hindu festival of Mahānadī in the South. *Vide* Major.

[4] Compare an illustration in T.D., 104-5.

[5] Compare the account of Amir Khusrau who finds young urchins of Delhi playing with fire-works and making the city a virtual ' blazing hell of Abraham's legend '. He further states that everybody sent a few wick-lamps to illuminate the local mosque. *Vide* I.K., IV 324. Compare also the corroborative account of Amir Hasan in *Dīwān-i-Hasan-i-Dehlavī*, 32.

[6] Compare for details, A., 365–7.

The Muharram was observed in modest proportions. Whatever be the truth in ascribing the introduction of *Ta'ziyas* (or imitation mausoleums of the martyrs of Karbala) to Tīmūr, his influence was not felt in this direction in Hindūstān.[1] It is not difficult, however, to appreciate the introduction of elaborate Muharrum preparations at a later date in a land like Hindūstān.[2] Orthodox and religious-minded Muslims spent the first ten days of Muharram in reading the account of the martyrdom of the heroes of Karbala and in offering special prayers for their spiritual benefit.[3] They did not proceed beyond these limits under the Sultāns of Delhi.

The popular Muslim pilgrimages were confined to the graves of reputed saints, the most important of whom was Mas'ūd Sālār Ghāzī of Bahrāich (U.P.).[4] The *'Urs* or annual anniversaries of reputed saints were only beginning to come into public prominence. Some *Sūfīs* and other followers of famous saints used to congregate over the graves of saints once a year, but this observance was confined to a very small number of people. Visits to the tombs of saints were becoming more popular. We have already mentioned the prohibition of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq which forbade women going to the tombs outside the city of Delhi. In Sind, great crowds of men and women used to flock to the Māklī mountain on the first Friday of every lunar month to visit the grave of some reputed saint. There is a record of similar visits to other shrines on the first Monday of every month in Sind, where about a dozen such places existed. Such vast crowds of people assembled that there was hardly any room to stand. The visitors spent the day in amusement and merry-making and returned late in the evening.

The orthodox people, and the theologians in particular, were naturally annoyed at this freedom of social intercourse

---

1 Compare a detailed account of Muharram celebrations in Mrs. Mir Hassan Ali's book; also Crooke's Herklots Islam, etc., 164 and Havell's History of Aryan rule, 168, for an early notice of Buddhist image processions in Hindūstān by Fa-hian the Chinese traveller.

2 The various elements of the present day Muharrum 'Passion-Play,' namely, the *Ta'ziyas* or miniature models of the mausoleums of the martyrs of Karbala, the relics of the heroes and the numerous wailings and demonstrations were all present in Hindūstān. Relic worship was common among Muslims, who worshipped the supposed footprints of Adam and Muhammad quite as zealously as the Hindus did their relics. The Jagannāth car and the Krishnalīlās and their processions were almost identical with Muharrum processions.

3 Compare I.K., IV, 328, for some references. The growing Shī'a feeling and influence is well illustrated in *Sayyid Jahāngīr Ashraf's* (B. Museum MS.), *Maktūbāt*.

4 It should be remembered in this connection that in India as in other countries of Islām (cf. Stein's account of Turkestan) many present Muslim shrines are situated on the older sites of 'infidel' remains—Buddhists and Hindus. The tomb of Sayyid Sālār is possibly built on a temple of the sun. (Compare I.G. I; 'Bahraich' for Buddhist remains in the district.)

between the two sexes and the whole atmosphere of light-heartedness and jovialty that characterized these congregations. Commonsense, however, was very slow to listen to these wiseacres and as the author of *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī* remarks, 'the custom has so long prevailed among these people and what time has sanctioned, they never relinquish'.[1] Thus the sanctity of usage over-rode all other considerations.

Official receptions and State celebrations.—Mention may be made in this connection of certain official celebrations in which everybody was invited to share, irrespective of social status or class distinctions. Such occasions were many, for instance the reception of a Sultān on his return to the capital after some memorable event, the celebration of a victory, the marriage of a prince or princess, the birth of the first son of a Sultān and so on. The celebrations were carried out on a more or less uniform pattern under both Hindu and Muslim contemporary rulers. In a large open maidan, arched pavilions were constructed and adorned with rich cloth and embroidered curtains. Carpets were spread on the floor. Sometimes a band played at the top of these arches and big chandeliers were hung under them for light and decoration. Dancing girls and musicians gave their performances and sweet drink (*sharbat*) and betel-leaves were freely distributed to the visitors.[2] Hindu

---

[1] Compare E.D., I, 273-4.

[2] Compare an early reference to these arched pavilions in T.M. (III), 87-8. The arches were decorated with military weapons to receive Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak on his return from Ghaznī after his marriage with the daughter of Yildiz. Compare an account of the public reception of Ulugh Khān Balban after his suppression of the Rānās of Sirmur Hills. Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn and people gathered on the Hauz-i-Rānī. According to the chronicler the plain looked like 'a multi-coloured flower garden' through the effect of the rich dresses and other paraphernalia of decoration. (*Vide* Raverty, 834-5, for details.) Compare B., 106, for the reception of Sultān Balban on his return to Delhi after suppressing the Bengal rebellion. When Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād returned to Delhi after meeting his father Bughrā Khān, liquors and wines were stored in big jars and distributed free to the gathering of people. (*Vide* B., 164.) Compare the account of Amīr Khusrau for the public reception of Khusrau Khān in Delhi by Mubārak Shāh Khaljī in *Kulliyāt* 700. Ibn Batūta gives two separate accounts of public receptions under Sultān Muhammad Tughluq. In one case, when the emissary of the Caliph entered the city of Delhi with the robes of the Abbasid Caliph and letters of recognition, a huge procession was formed to welcome him. Eleven four-storeyed arches of solid structure were built in Delhi to celebrate the event. All of them were decorated with embroidered silks and provided with male and female dancers and musicians to entertain the crowds of common people. Big jars of sweet drink (*sharbat*) were placed in them. Betel-leaves and *sharbat* were distributed free to all who joined the celebrations. (*Vide* K.R., I, 92, for details.) The other account is about one of the usual receptions given to the Sultān himself on his return to Delhi from numerous successful campaigns. Sixteen elephants decorated with gilded trappings and royal parasols were taken out for the royal procession and the royal route

princes sometimes added festal knots and festal urns or strings of mango sprouts to the decoration of these arches and announced the arrival of the guest of honour by a flourish of trumpets.[1] This opportunity of advertisement and display sometimes attracted a crowd of enterprising athletes, jugglers and various other showmen who exhibited their skill and amused the people, earning a modest sum of money into the bargain.[2] With more or less similar features of entertainment, these celebrations continued to be observed under the Mughal Emperors.

Dancing and Singing.—Among other amusements and recreations, dancing and singing were quite popular with the common people. A visitor to an Indian village in Hindūstān still finds peasants and other folks gathering in their common *chowpāls* for the Holī celebration to sing their popular ballads and dance. In some places, especially in the Doāb, the popular annals of *Alhakhand* and the story of Nala and Damayanti are still recited in the evenings. We can quite imagine that the stirring episode of Rājā Ratan Sen's escape from the royal prison of Delhi and the fight of Hamīra Deva may have inspired the village minstrels and versifiers to sing of them. The Sāvan (Sravana) songs (for which special melodies of '*Hindolā*' and '*Sāvanī*' were composed during our period) were universally popular and were probably sung in communities and on the swings, as they are to-day.[3]

Dancing was much more popular than it is to-day. The cult of Krishna had greatly stimulated it, and men and women danced together, sometimes with bells tied to their feet.[4] Among others, the popular Gujarātī dance (what is now known as the *Garbha*) was prevalent on the west coast and was parti-

---

through the city of Delhi was decorated with silks and the walls were adorned with rich hangings. (*Vide* K.R., II, 38.)

Under the Mughals the city of Delhi was ordered to be decorated under official supervision (*vide* G., 28), but in other respects the celebrations were not very different. For instance, under Akbar when public entertainments were organized, the bazars of Āgra and Sīkrī were decorated, and thousands of male and female musicians were employed to entertain the people with their performances. The State reception rooms (the *Dīwān-i-'Ām* and the *Dīwān-i-Khās*) were decorated with costly furniture mostly of European make and with excellent paintings. Grand pavilions and canopies were set up for official durbar. (Compare A.A., II, 309, for details.) It may be mentioned in this connection that arched pavilions were sometimes also constructed to proclaim the news of a victory of the royal forces. Thus the announcements—both from the pulpit of the principal mosque and from these arches, were made simultaneously (*vide* B., 249). For an independent and indirect version of receptions see T I; 367.

[1] Compare P.B., CXXVII. Among the Sultāns of Delhi the usual mode of receiving a State guest was to advance a few miles and then conduct him through triumphal arches along with the procession. Compare B., 60, for an illustration.

[2] Compare an interesting account of public reception in D.R., 153–5.

[3] Compare Shah, 182, 183, for new melodies.

[4] Compare P.B., LXXXII, for illustration.

cularly pleasing to the eyes of the western visitors.[1] The Afghāns of Hindūstān had not yet forgotten their folk dances, and usually celebrated events of national importance by dancing their customary dances with great enthusiasm and gusto, sometimes for days together.[2]

The popular dramatic art was degenerating into the mimicries of the mountebanks and the vulgar tricks of buffoons and professional jesters, when it was rescued to some extent by the new stimulus of the Krishna cult. The Krishnite forms were better suited to the needs of dramatic art, since they were so much more erotic than Rāmite. *Krishna-līlās*, as these performances were called, were staged in certain parts of the country. Herein were enacted the familiar and popular events of the life of Krishna and his various exploits, such as his loves and the pranks he played on the milkmaids, the separation and grief of Rādhā, the killing of the tyrant Kans, etc. etc.[3] The *Rāmalīlās* of a later date, which came into vogue with the popularity of the Rāma cult and the poems of Tulasī Dās and are still celebrated, were modelled on the lines of the Krishnalīlās. This stimulus, however, was not sufficient to revive the ancient glory of Hindu Drama. Dancing and music also began to degenerate, mainly through assigning a special caste for them and by confining the scope of their development to the amusement of the upper classes and the service of religion.

Acrobats, Jugglers, Mountebanks, etc.—There was a great variety of acrobats and jugglers who performed their tricks both with and without the aid of animals. Acrobats had a very old tradition in Hindūstān and appear to have acquired a very high degree of skill in their art. Every ruler employed a few acrobats to amuse himself and his guests.[4] The common and lowly performers earned a modest living by making rams dance in market places, or by dancing their monkeys to various measures.[5] The tight-rope walker and the puppet

---

[1] Compare the account of Nicolo Conti in Frampton, 142; Major, 29. The traveller was particularly fascinated by this dance which he compares to a contemporary European dance. The people danced round 'following one another in order, and two of them carrying painted wands in their hands and as they do meet, they do change sticks or wands'. This dance is popular all over Gujarāt and is being revived nowadays. A similar dance is prevalent in the United Provinces where it is performed in villages on the occasion of certain festivals, e.g. Holī.

[2] Compare T.S.S., 48b, for the celebrations of the Afghān dances on the assumption of regal powers by Sher Shāh.

[3] Compare Macauliffe, I, 58. Compare also Ross, Feasts, 36-7, 41, for a few Hindu festivals; celebrating the waking of Hari or Vishnu on the 11th or 12th lunar day in the first half of Kārttika after a long sleep of four months, the nativity of Krishna or Janamasṭamī and the Dolāyātra when the god is swung.

[4] Compare P. (hin), 253, for an illustration.

[5] Compare P. 151, for an illustration of ram dancing; Shah, 176, 193, for the monkey dance.

showman were familiar figures of fairs and other crowds.[1] The snake-charmer was occupied with his work as he is to-day.[2] In Bengal a man sometimes went about the street with a collared tiger. When he began his performance, he unfastened the animal and started pulling, knocking and kicking the animal about until it was in an apparently furious rage and sprang upon him. Both man and animal then rolled down for a minute and the performer ostentatiously thrust his bare arms into the throat of the animal who dared not bite him. Then he collected money and gifts from the crowd of amused spectators and thus maintained himself and the animal.[3] Sometimes, in the South, an elephant was made to dance to the accompaniment of music and raised his trunk to mark time.[4]

Among the famous performances of acrobats and jugglers were those of the *Morchāl* (the peacock gait), the display of two acrobats resting on each other, and the 'Rope-Trick'. The Mughal Emperor Bābur describes the Morchāl somewhat as follows:—The acrobat arranged seven rings, namely, one o his forehead, two on his knees, two of the remaining four o his fingers and the last two on his toes, and set them all revolving, rapidly together. Sometimes two acrobats went on turning over three or four times. One acrobat would set the end of a pole upright on his knee or thigh while the other climbed up the pole and performed his tricks from above. In yet a third case, one dwarfish acrobat climbed up the head of a big one and stood there upright. While the big one was moving about quickly from side to side and showing his tricks, the little one was showing his own on the big one's head without being affected by the latter's movements in the slightest degree.[5]

The most remarkable exhibition, however, was what is popularly known as the 'Rope-Trick' which has engaged and baffled many minds until now. We have very good evidence from reliable sources of the fact of its performance and the attitude of utter amazement and puzzle it created.[6] The trick was carried out in open in the following way—an acrobat appeared before the audience with a woman whom he addressed as his wife. He jokingly suggested for himself a journey into the heavens to look into the records of good and bad deeds of his audience. Nobody

---

[1] Compare Shah, 22, for the tight-rope walker; an illustration of puppet-shows in P. 59.

[2] I.K., IV, 270.

[3] For details see *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 533.

[4] Compare Major, 38.

[5] Compare B.N., 330.

[6] Compare for instance, the observations of Amīr Khusrau in D.R., 155. Abu'l Fazl frankly admits that if these jugglers exhibited their performances to common crowds, people would easily mistake them for miracles of the prophets. Recently Lt.-Col. R. H. Elliot, Chairman of the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle, London, revived the interest in the Rope-Trick by challenging anybody to perform it.

disagreeing with his proposal, the acrobat took out a knotted rope from his pocket and holding one end in his hand threw the other into the air, which ascended and to all appearance, disappeared above. He climbed up this suspended rope as one does a ladder and soon vanished out of sight. After a while the various limbs of his body began to drop down one after another. The wife collected them together and cremated them in the Hindu fashion, burning herself with them like a Sati. Some time after this the acrobat suddenly appeared and asked for his wife. The whole story was repeated to him, which he pretended not to believe. He accused his host or the distinguished man under whose patronage the trick was performed, of confining his wife wrongfully in his house and proceeded to call her from his female apartments whence she came beaming with smiles.[1]

The acrobats used to perform another amazing trick. They used to kill a man in front of the audience and cut him in forty pieces, which were concealed under a shroud. The dead man then came out alive at their bidding. Among other tricks, mention may be made of the 'Mango-Trick'. A seedling of mango was put in a vessel with mud and other things, and in a few hours passed through all the processes of sprouting, blossoming and bearing fruits which the spectators verified by tasting the fruits themselves.[2] Other demonstrations included the providing of fruits out of seasons, the swallowing of swords and other exhibitions which in ordinary conditions would strike one as marvellous.[3]

In concluding this discussion of amusements and recreations, reference may be made to mountebanks and professional jesters. They employed all sorts of tricks and antics, witticisms and repartees to provoke laughter and to amuse their audience. Some of these jesters wore the most comic masks and gave amusing surprises to the party. At other times they caricatured the popular courtiers and other lackeys and suffered indignities and beating or snubbing, to create an effect.[4] On the whole, the standard of humour as displayed by these jesters and clowns was not very high and their behaviour was very scandalous in the eyes of the punctilious theologians.[5] Like the Sultān and Hindu rulers who maintained buffoons and clowns, the Hindu and Muslim nobility employed professional jesters and mountebanks on their staff of attendants.[6]

---

[1] Compare A.A., II, 57, for details.

[2] *Ibid.*, 58.

[3] Compare *ibid.* for details. Also D.R. *ante.* A comparatively modern account of the 'Mango-Trick' and other marvellous performances occurs in the work 'Occult Science in India' by the French writer, Jacolliot, who witnessed them personally.

[4] Compare amusing illustrations of masks in I.K., V, 60, 132, 165. The *Bahrūpiyās* still carry on these old traditions.

[5] Compare for instance the observations in Z.M., 149.

[6] Compare illustrations in P., 59.

Manners.

The analysis of the manners of a people or an age is an extremely difficult task. Very few generalizations are so misleading as those which relate to national characteristics, for the obvious reason that they do not take account of social and individual variability. In Indian society, as we have so often pointed out, these variations from one class to another, and even from one individual to another, were very wide. However, in comparison with the modern complex of society and social manners, the age with which we deal was simpler and more uniform, more compact and homogeneous. *Dharma*—a Hindu term of very wide and comprehensive meaning and very difficult to render in English, purports to assign the respective duties of various classes and castes towards each other. Stripped of its spiritual character, the term is an attempt to fix the moral attitudes of a social group. Its existence similarly reflects a very developed form of group behaviour and moral attitudes.

It cannot be denied that people as a whole led a very prosaic life and did not succeed in developing more than a few physical and moral capacities and very limited forms of human relationships. Thus the virtues and vices of the age as a whole were very few. But on the other hand these characteristics were well developed and deep-rooted. Custom and religion, which fostered these manners in many respects, were stronger forces than the intellectual and ethical convictions of the present age. On the whole, they led to social solidarity and well being. When it was realized that the forefathers had behaved in a particular manner in a certain situation, the direction for the living descendant was clear and the force of this sanction was absolute.

I. Virtues.—Let us begin first with an examination of the virtues of the age. We must make it clear at the start that except for a certain amount of freshness and vigour, the Muslims as a class were not substantially very different from their Hindu countrymen. The former, in some places, emphasized certain points in which they differed from the latter. But, as it would appear from the discussion, the underlying outlook of both communities was similar.

To put it in two words, we may describe the strong points of Hindu character as *Loyalty* and *Charity* in their widest sense. Abu'l Fazl has given for our guidance a longer catalogue of Hindu virtues which may however be resolved into these two basic categories.[1] The list of conventional Muslim virtues of an early date recommends the cultivation of a number of pious virtues which, however, are not different from this estimate in any substantial degree.[2] As a rule the Muslims overemphasize

---

[1] Compare A.A., II, 4-5 for an analysis of Abu'l Fazl.

[2] Compare J.H., 490 for Muslim virtues. The writer expects every good Muslim to cultivate the following: dev[illegible]n to God, kindness to

loyalty to the State, treating it as one of the cardinal virtues, but the reasons for this are obvious. In any case, this emphasis does not change the character of the quality which is sought to be inculcated.[1] Loyalty and charity may thus be taken as the characteristic national virtues of the Indians of our period. We shall take up the discussion of loyalty first, as it appears to have been the ethical religion of Hindūstān throughout the ages. For the sake of convenience, we shall discuss it in three different aspects in relation to the objects for which it was brought into play, namely loyalty to a master or superior, loyalty to a friend or an equal, and loyalty to a form of conduct (or chivalry). The relations with a person of inferior status may better be discussed under 'Charity'.

A. Loyalty to a Master or Superior.—One of the paths to spiritual salvation recommended by Hindu religious philosophy and ethics was that of *Bhakti-mārga* or the Path of Devotion. We are not concerned here with the connection of this doctrine with the far-reaching religious revolution that took place during our time in Northern India. We only want to emphasize that this essentially spiritual term of an ancient date was employed to give to the political relations between the ruler and the ruled a certain spiritual basis in Hindu society, when the status of an earthly and despotic ruler was raised to that of a spiritual Guru.[2] It was universally believed that the service of a master in every case required a complete and unqualified surrender of personality and will on the part of a person called upon to serve. The examination of the qualifications of the master and the principles for which he stood, were foreign to this essentially spiritual view of life.[3]

---

fellow beings, loyalty to friends, respect for the wise and forbearance for fools, respect and service for superiors, affection and regard for inferiors, obedience to the Sultān, and finally, opposition to all forms of resistance towards the State.

[1] Compare the observations of Amīr Khusrau. In *Qirānu'-s-Sa'dain*, 79, he emphasizes the point that the slave (i.e. the subject of the Sultān) was committing a grievous sin if he ever thought of evil against the Sultān. In another place he asks his son to be grateful to the Sultān. For, says Khusrau, let alone human beings, even a dog knows how to watch the property of his master; and it would be a perfect shame if human beings degraded themselves lower than animals in this respect. *Vide* K.K., 678; also 123.

[2] Compare P.P., 120 for exposition and illustrations.

[3] Compare P. (hin), 236, how a person who dies in the service of a master goes straight to paradise. Compare Yule, II, 339 for an interesting example from the South. Marco Polo tells us that a Rājā of the Deccan had some nobles who were his sworn companions and had great immunities and privileges in his kingdom. If the Rājā predeceased them, these nobles used to burn themselves with him alive. The nobles were quite satisfied with their conduct, for they considered it fair to keep their master company in the next world as well as in this. Compare the numerous statements of Gorā and Bādal, the two loyal adherents of Ratan Sen in the story of Padumāvat.

The Muslim term for this sentiment of loyalty is *Namak-halālī* or the obligation of service and devotion in return for 'salt'.[1] This view of life is more realistic than spiritual, as it emphasizes the mundane aspect of the relationship, namely the material gains in the bargain. The sentiment, however, which this relationship fostered, was essentially Indian and of a deeply spiritual character. The history of our period is rich in examples of supreme sacrifices in the service of a master.[2] It was on account of this deep appreciation of the

---

[1] Compare M.A., III on the virtues of '*Namak-halālī*'.

[2] Compare a few illustrations of this 'obligation of salt'. Baranī tells us that when one Malik Chajjū and his associates rebelled against Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī and were captured, the monarch forgave and even honoured the rebels for being 'true to the salt'. Since they had drawn swords in the cause of the fallen house of Balban they were pardoned. *Vide* B., 184. Compare Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī's treatment of his 'turn-coat' supporters and his enemies, the faithful adherents of Jalāl-ud-dīn. When he was established on the throne, he punished his supporters, who had deserted their old masters, and spared the lives of his enemies. (*Vide* B., 250-1 for details.) In one instance, the Sultān went even further. According to the account of Hājī Dabīr, he gave a decent burial to the erstwhile rebel general Muhammad Shāh who had remained faithful to his Hindu master Hamīra Deva until the last breath of his life. The details of the story are well known. On his death, the Sultān buried him with honours, explaining that 'loyalty is to be praised, even in an enemy'. (*Vide* Z.W., II, 810 for details.) Sultān Muhammad Tughluq in his Memoirs (B.M. MS., 316*b*) claims that his primary motive in turning against Khusrau Khān the usurper was to avenge himself for the insults and humiliations to which the usurper had subjected the family of their common master, Sultān Mubārak Shāh Khaljī. Similarly, Fīrūz Tughluq considers it an act of piety to repair the mausoleum of Malik Kāfūr on the sole ground that the latter had been reputed to be 'true to the salt' of his master and was considered to have been loyal to the throne. (Compare F., 13.) Compare the praise of Baranī for a noble of Fīrūz Tughluq who had been uniformly faithful to the throne. *Vide* B., 584.

Two stories are worth narrating in greater details to illustrate the point. It is related that Sher Khān (afterwards Sher Shāh) was once overtaken by the Mughal army at night with a few supporters. One of his officers named Saif Khān offered to obstruct the progress of Humāyūn to allow the escape of Sher Khān. He assembled his brothers at day-break and began to explain to them the great virtue of self-sacrifice. 'Do not hesitate to give your life' said the warrior, 'for death is inevitable in any case and no mortal can escape from it. Your master who maintains you in time of peace and accords a number of immunities expects from you in return to serve him with your life when occasion demands it. If, therefore, you are true to the name of a soldier, do not hesitate; rather, hasten to acquire the glory of the two worlds by a prompt offering of your life'. Before Saif Khān had concluded his exhortations, his brothers reminded him that men of action do not waste their breath on words. They proceeded to engage the enemy and perished to a man. (*Vide* T.S.S., 41*b*.)

The other story is about the devoted officers and adherents of Humāyūn. It is related that once Kāmrān took possession of the fortress of Kābul by surprise when Humāyūn and his adherents were out of town. When they besieged the fortress on their return, Kāmrān, who held the families of the besiegers in his custody, threatened to take their lives. Qarācha Khān, one

ancient Hindu tradition that the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, even in the extremities of exile and poverty, trusted his life more readily in the hands of the forty Indian guards, who followed him in all his misfortunes, than in those of his blood relations.[1]

B. Loyalty to an equal or friend.—Loyalty to an equal, irrespective of considerations of rank and status or the obligation of 'salt'—or in other words the spirit of friendship and comradeship, is more charming for obvious reasons. This does not necessarily exclude friendly relations that may exist between persons of quite different social status, even between a king and his subjects or between a commander and soldiers under his command.[2] Friendship and comradeship were usually termed *Yārī* (companionship, comradeship) and implied a somewhat romantic conception of the relationship. For instance, Friendship was considered to be undying and eternal. It was the complete and unqualified dedication of a person to his friend for life-long devotion and service. It appears that people used to choose their friends or companions for their strong and manly qualities. Weak-minded, spineless associates, though sweet and amiable, had no charms from them, and no place in their emotional life. Friendship, under the peculiar conditions of the age, was a kind of social insurance against dangers and misfortunes. A proper friend, as Amīr Khusrau describes him, is one who serves as a sword of fine steel in case of attack and as a coat-of-mail for defence.[3] Similarly, Guru Nānak warns everybody against choosing their friends from among the petty shop-keepers, the class that had acquired a reputation for selfishness and meanness. The Sikh teacher explains his meaning further by saying that the foundations of friendship in a case like this are weak.[4]

Innumerable examples of friendship may be cited both from Hindu and Muslim social history. We shall confine ourselves to relating two of them. Students of Mughal history are familiar with the name of Prince Kāmrān and his repeated rebellions against the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, his own brother. Few have appreciated that beneath his somewhat rough and brutal

---

of the officers of Humāyūn, went near the battlements and shouted over to Kāmrān. 'Let it be known to you that we live only to serve our master and the death or ruin of our families is of no consequence to us. We will live and die in the service of Humāyūn, and if we are ready to offer our own lives, kith and kin are of secondary importance.' This did not stop Kāmrān from cruelty or the adherents of Humāyūn from unflinching devotion. *Vide* A.N., I, 264-5 for details.

[1] Compare T.W., 64.

[2] Compare A.N., I, 186 for an instance in which the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn takes oath of whole-hearted devotion with his soldiers on equal terms.

[3] Compare M.A., 107-8.

[4] Compare Macauliffe, I, 122.

exterior, the Prince carried a very loving heart and an extraordinary capacity for making and retaining friends. When Kāmrān was finally captured and blinded, he was exiled to Mecca by Humāyūn. It is related that when the blinded prince was starting for exile, the Emperor asked Kokā, a common friend, if he would accompany the exile in his miserable loneliness or rather choose to stay with him (the Emperor) amidst the usual comforts and share his favours. Without the slightest hesitation Kokā chose to follow the blind exile and explained to the Emperor that if ever friendship and personal devotion were put to test, this was the opportunity for serving an old friend. Accordingly, Kokā went into a self-imposed exile.[1]

Another famous example of comradeship is the friendship between two Mughal nobles, the famous Bairam Khān and Abu'l Qāsim. It is related that after the defeat of the Mughals at the hands of Sher Shāh, the Mughal nobles were scattered and were seeking for the safety of their lives as best as they could. Bairam Khān, as a prominent organizer of the Mughal forces, and the confidant of Humāyūn, was sought for by the Afghāns, who had made elaborate preparations to secure him. Bairam Khān and his friend Abu'l Qāsim were both flying to save their lives and were about to escape into the independent and distant territory of Gujarāt when they chanced to fall into the hands of an Afghān envoy who was returning from there. The Afghān envoy suspected that one of the prisoners was Bairam Khān but was not sure which of them was Bairam Khān. With calm dignity and courage Bairam Khān told him that he was the person who was wanted. Before he had finished his conversation and the envoy had made up his mind, Abu'l Qāsim, who was the more prepossessing of the two, interrupted him and began to address the Afghān envoy. He told him that he (Bairam Khān) was one of his old and devoted slaves; and when he was offering himself for arrest and surrender, he was only doing what was expected of a devoted slave. But in fairness to him and to his slave, he thought it was no longer desirable to conceal his identity, for he was the *real* Bairam Khān. The envoy was easily persuaded to believe the frank statement of Abu'l Qāsim. He released Bairam Khān and took the former to Sher Shāh, where he shared the fate which was reserved for his companion. He was executed by Sher Shāh in impotent rage at the disclosure of all the facts of the case.[2]

C. Loyalty to a certain conduct (*chivalry*).—Yet another, and in some respects nobler form of virtue, was the spirit of loyalty to a particular line of conduct or behaviour. Tradition was a most sacred and binding heritage in those days, to an extent that can hardly be overemphasized. In any case, it

---

[3] Compare A.N., I, 331. [4] Compare A.N., I, 302.

was almost the only creed sacred in the eyes of martial people, especially the clans of the Rājputs. It was a common and well-known rule of Rājput society to extend their protection and shelter to a refugee who sought to escape from the fury and revenge of the powerful Sultān of Delhi. It was equally clear that the chief who ventured to shelter an enemy of the Sultanate, was courting a war against himself and the almost certain ruin and extermination of his family. Martial tradition, however, scorned to calculate the consequences of a course of action which honour bade them follow. We shall take a few examples to illustrate this sentiment of chivalry and honour. The history of Rājput warriors is naturally our main source for illustrations.

It is reported that when Qutlugh Khān revolted against Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn and was routed, he was looking for some place of shelter. He sought refuge with Rānā Ran Pāl of Santur the ruler of a very small principality. The valiant Hindu chief readily fell in with the proposal. By doing this, as the Muslim chronicler explains, he was carrying on the old tradition of his house—the protection of 'those who sought shelter with them'.[1] The case of Hamīra Deva of Ranthambhor is famous in the annals of Rājasthān. It is related that when the Mongols unsuccessfully rebelled against the generals of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in Gujarāt, the rebel chief Muhammad Shāh solicited the protection of Hamīra Deva and surrendered his person to him. The proud Rājput told the Mongol chief that now that he had committed himself to him, not even Yama, the god of death, could harm him, much less the Muslim Sultān. This provoked the rage of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī who exterminated the dynasty of Hamīra Deva and devastated his territory. The details of the rest of the story are familiar to the students of history, and no true Rājput but is proud of the rash but noble action of the famous hero.[2]

Another story illustrates this sentiment still more clearly.. We all know of the attack of Sher Shāh against Mārwār. One of the Rājput chiefs who brought his band of warriors to support Māldeva against the Afghān invader was Kānhayya. The Afghān monarch employed the common trick of Muslim invaders and succeeded in arousing suspicion between two brave Rājput allies whose combined strength would have overcome any Afghān or foreign aggression. Kānhayya discovered too late that the Afghān had succeeded in his craftiness. When he failed to assure his ally of his devotion and co-operation, he did what was expected of a Rājput to vindicate his position. He fought against the enemy with his band of warriors, and as was obvious, perished against

[1] Compare Raverty, 839.

[2] Compare the accounts of the chronicles, especially of Hājī Dabīr; also P.P., 10.

superior numbers. This exhibition of Rājput valour was, however, sufficient to scare the victorious Afghāns into a precipitate withdrawal from Rājputāna.[1]

D. Charity.—The relations between a person of superior social status and one of a comparatively inferior position can better be explained by applying the general term of charity. When for instance, a monarch made a gift to a noble, or the latter in his turn made a smaller gift to the needy and poor, the attitude was essentially the same, though very different terms were applied in the two cases. In the former case, it was considered to be the noble virtue of generosity while in the latter case it was a simple act of charity (*khairāt*). Our period, as we pointed out earlier, is very conspicuous for its lavish gifts and a general and wide display of generosity. In fact, ordinary frugality was identified with meanness of heart. By examining the ethical attitudes of the people, one easily gathers the impression that prodigality and extravagance, instead of being considered social evils, were encouraged as the highest acts of piety which were sure to be rewarded in both worlds.[2] Frugality on the other hand, was a grievous sin and a social wrong. A religious belief soon began to prevail among the people, that every gift of charity in this world is rewarded ten times its value in the next.[3] We have already referred to the general denunciation and the social stigma that attached to the petty shop-keeper mentality, not unlike the unsavoury reputation of Jewish meanness in mediæval Europe.

The reasons for these ethical and moral developments are not very far to seek. They are to be found in the economic basis of the social classes. There was a superfluity of wealth among the upper classes and a chronic poverty and need among the lower. We have illustrated the case in greater detail elsewhere. Here we have only to add that this relative economic position of the various classes was a social menace. The extreme poverty of the vast masses created a psychology of fear and nervousness among the rich. Generosity thus came to their aid as an insurance policy.[5] There was no organized protection for private property or security through legal machinery as in modern States. There was no sense of the sacredness of private property. Wealth and

---

1 Compare T.F., I, 427.

2 Compare T., 17*b*. Compare an early formulation of the ideals of a monarch in two sentences. He despoils in war and distributes the spoils as gifts in peace; his army is constantly over-running the land of an enemy and crowds are ever looking up to him for favours. *Vide* T.F.M., 51.

3 Compare P. (hin), 300. Compare some amusing examples given by Vidyāpati Thākur in P.P., 23.

4 Compare for instance the observations of Amīr Khusrau, K.K., 371.

5 Compare the common Hindu belief that a certain percentage of the principal sum insures the remainder against loss and destruction, if invested in charitable gifts. *Vide* P. (hin), 177, 323.

fortune smiled on any fortunate adventurer who gathered the necessary force to be master of a situation. In such circumstances, as Amīr Khusrau explains, it is much better to give away your wealth in generous gifts, than find yourself forcibly robbed of it. Generosity was the only alternative to expropriation or the destruction of property in some other form.[1]

Cases of individual charity are numerous and very interesting. It is reported that a famous Afghān nobleman named Khavās Khān used to go out at daybreak every morning with a few retainers and large quantities of sweets and rice. He used to awaken every beggar on the road and after giving him some rice and sweets and a coin of silver, he went on to seek another.[2] Similarly Asad Khān, another Afghān nobleman, used not only to give a similar gift of sweets and rice, but also a variety of pickles, relishes and betel-leaves and instead of a silver coin, made a gift of gold.[3] We have already referred to the instance of the Kotwāl of Balban who used to provide a thousand dowries for poor maidens every year. Similarly he is reported never to have slept on the same bedstead and mattress twice or worn the same dress again, all being given away in charity.[4]

More important, however, were the organized establishments for charity. The Hindu gift to the poor or ascetics (*dān*) is a familiar sight even to-day. A fixed ration of flour, butter, rice and other ingredients of a meal were supplied to everybody who begged for them.[5] Hospitality was an outstanding virtue of Indian and particularly of Muslim aristocracy. We have already made a few references in another connection to the

---

[1] Compare the observations of Khusrau in M.A., 112, 122-3. 'Afīf explains in one place the surest way of acquiring greatness. He tells us that there was nothing marvellous about the great Farīdūn. He was neither born as an angel, nor made of amber or camphor in place of ordinary human flesh; he was simply lavish in his gifts. So, if thou takest to generous gifts, thou too shalt become the Farīdūn of thy age. (*Vide* A., 298.) In one place, Khusrau borrows a metaphor to illustrate the point. If somebody is anxious to shine like a luminary on earth, let him cultivate the virtue of giving away his wealth, as the luminaries do their light. *Vide* A.S., 41.

[2] Compare the account of Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī, 100–102.

[3] *Ibid.*, 48.

[4] B., 117.

[5] Compare for *dān* P. (hin), 177, 323. Compare a few illustrations to form an idea of Muslim establishments. In the Khānqāh of Sidī Maulā in Delhi, 2,000 maunds of fine flour, 500 maunds of ordinary flour, 300 maunds of unrefined, and 20 maunds of fine sugar were consumed every day. (*Vide* B., 208-9); also T.F., I, 161. The above-mentioned Afghān noble Khvās Khān maintained an establishment for the poor which contained 2,500 separate apartments for their housing. For every person, irrespective of considerations of age or need, two seers of corn was fixed as the daily allowance. Besides this permanent establishment, he had other tents pitched to house the poor and widows wherever he moved about in the country. Here also rations, clothes, and bedding were supplied. We have already spoken of the charity establishments sometimes attached to the mausoleums of the Sultāns.

expenditure of the nobility on lavish gifts and entertainments. In some cases, the number of private guests was absolutely phenomenal.[1]

Mention may be made in this connection of the State department for the entertainment and care of official guests. Ibn Batūta has described in detail the arrangements for State guests in the kingdom of Delhi; we may quite believe that similar arrangements existed in provincial kingdoms and in the Deccan.[2] When the State guest arrived at the frontier of the kingdom, he was received by a distinguished official. A regular staff of cooks and domestics then attended him during his journey to Delhi and catered for his needs on the way. We shall not go into the details of arrangements, but they were on a very lavish scale. At every halting place, the visitor was provided with the choicest food, fruits, dessert and drinks. Not even the smallest detail of entertainment was neglected. When he arrived at the capital, he was presented with a handsome purse. A list of his servants and retainers was taken from him; all of them were classified according to their position and social status, and they also were rewarded handsomely. A daily allowance of flour, mutton, sugar, butter, betel-leaves and other requisites was fixed for him and his establishment on a very liberal scale.[3]

II. Vices.—Their vices like their virtues were few and deep-rooted. They may be almost summed up in two words—*wine* and *woman.* In other words, excessive indulgence in physical pleasures of a great variety stands out very prominently as the besetting sin of the age. Young and old, Hindu and Muslim, rich and poor freely indulged in these vices, indifferent to consequences and religious prohibitions, as far as their means and health permitted them.[4] Needless to say, the vast masses of peasants and workmen were forced to lead a clean and sober life.

A. Drinking.—Drinking is forbidden by the Qur'ān very strongly but was recommended by the Persian tradition in equally unequivocal terms.[5] In the latter cases, the recommendation to drink was more agreeable since it persuaded people in a most reasonable manner. 'Wine is the best restorative for health', so runs a precept 'if taken in moderate quantity. An immoderate measure of drink will do you harm, as much

---

[1] Compare T.D., 100–102 for Khvās Khān entertaining 40,000 horsemen to meals without notice. On another occasion 400 maunds of sugar alone were consumed in a feast.

[2] Compare the account of 'Abdur Razzāq in Major for Vijayanagar.

[3] Ibn Batūta was offered a purse of 2,000 Tankas on arrival at Delhi. His servants and retainers were rewarded from 200 to 65 Tankas each; so that 4,000 Tankas were distributed among the forty adherents of the Moorish traveller. Compare K.R., II, 73-4 for details.

[4] Compare I.K., V, 88 for an illustration; also D.R., 309.

[5] Holy Qur'ān, 5, 90.

as any other beneficial drug, even elixir '.[1] Outside India, where the religious influence of Islām was greater, Muslims usually resorted to the common practice of explaining away the provisions [2] of the Holy Book. In Hindūstān, where the general outlook on life was frankly secular, hardly any apologies were ever offered to justify the habit of drinking. On the other hand, people were quite enthusiastic in defending it, and even took an unholy pride in over-riding the provisions of Islām. In fact, a Hindu religious reformer found no better term to describe the kingdom of Bengal than 'the land of the wine-bibbing Muslim king '.[3]

It is difficult to mention any social group in Muslim society which did not drink. Women were known to drink and lead an otherwise free life; tutors of children indulged in drinking; the religious classes, though with many exceptions, did resort to drinking in secret; and the soldiers and military men were addicted to it openly and almost with a passion.[4] Forms and

---

[1] Compare J.H., 28 for the Persian tradition.

[2] Compare some instances from the contemporary world of Islām. Marco Polo tells us that the subtle Persians had a way of their own in dealing with the question. They boiled the wine until it changed its flavour and became sweet in taste, but retained its intoxication. Now, according to them, it was no longer a forbidden drink within the definition of the Muslim law; 'the name being changed with the change of flavour '. *Vide* Yule, I, 84. The Hanafite liberalism opened a way for many abuses. For instance Sultān Uzbeg, according to Ibn Batūta, used to drink *nabīz* (fermented date juice), which was lawful, in sufficient quantities to make him drunk. His daughters, sisters, nobles, other ladies and the chief queen, all successively offered a drink to his health, in which, of course, he had to join every time. The piety of the Sultān was, however, not open to question, since he never failed to attend the prayers on Fridays (*vide* K.R., II, 208-9). Muslims of Hormuz resorted to similar devices. *Vide* Barbosa, I, 96.

[3] Sircar, 192. We have referred to the observation of Ḥasan Nizāmī earlier (*vide* T.M., II, 64) that drinking is permitted to everybody except fools who are obsessed with sharī'at. Compare also Khusrau's explanation (Q.S., 131) that the use of salt (i.e. spiced relishes) makes wine lawful, being a pun on the word 'salt '. Compare B., 62 for an interesting instance of a bribe of spirits to administrative officials.

[4] Compare for drinking among women: M.A., 194; also concealed drinking among Muslim women in the South in modern times. Crooke, Herklot's Islam, 47. Compare A., 505 for an illustration of a tutor where drinking leads to murder. Compare also an interesting discussion in F.F., 141 which reveals that in some cases people divorced their wives while in a state of drunkenness and wanted to revoke afterwards in a state of sobriety. This led to complications, since in certain cases a divorce becomes irrevocable and absolute under Hanafite law. Interesting examples are on record about drinking among members of the religious classes. Compare Raverty, 754 for a perfect teetotaler, which being exceptional, was worthy of mention. Compare the bitter exposition of Amīr Khusrau, who denounces the 'Ulamā for pouring liquor ' in the same bosom in which the Qur'ān is treasured '. (*Vide* M.A., 58.) Compare the case of a *Muazzin* (a reciter of the call to prayer) appearing in the mosque smelling of liquor. (I.K., IV, 175.) Compare M.A., 85 for the secret drinking of a recluse in the company of the Sultān and his state

ceremonies of drinking parties were slowly developed. The ceremony of proposing the health of a chief was especially elaborated. Healths were drunk ceremonially in company. The friends and visitors all sat in a row with their wine cups before them. They began by pouring a few drops of wine on the floor 'as the share of the earth'. Then all of them raised their cups; the leader of the party pronounced the prayer for health; the party looked towards the host or the guest of honour whose health was proposed and all of them solemnly drank from their cups or drinking vessels.[1] Victory over the enemy was a popular occasion for organizing a drinking party.[2] Festivals and public functions, as we have pointed out, were other occasions for mass drinking. A melancholy person sometimes drowned his sorrows 'in the flowing bowl'.[3] As a rule, wine was taken in company with friends. Spiced victuals were also taken for relish with drinks. Common people consumed cheap beers and spirits which were easily available.[4]

The State looked upon the evil of drinking with indifference. In one case, as we have pointed out before, wine and drinks were even supplied free in a public function organized by the State. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was the only monarch who tried to suppress drinking for a time. He had no objection to drinking as such, but was persuaded to suppress the evil for administrative reasons. For a while he instituted very vigorous espionage and cruel punishments to stop the sale and manufacture of drinks. In reply to these prohibitive measures people resorted to the familiar devices of 'bootlegging'. They began to smuggle spirits concealed in water-skins, under loads of hay and firewood and through a thousand other means. Finally, the Sultān was compelled to modify his measures. A new regulation was therefore introduced which did not prohibit the manufacture and sale of drinks but only made its public distribution and the organization of big drinking parties illegal. The law did not interfere with a citizen who manufactured his own drinks and consumed it in private.[5] We know his gay successor too well to believe that Mubārak Shāh maintained these modified restrictions in operation.

---

of intoxication. Compare T.S.S., 33 for the story of a famous Afghān noble named Miyān Bāyazīd who was killed in a battle against the Mughals in a state of perfect stupefaction; also A.N., I, 131, how a few Mughals under the exhilarating influence of drink, scattered an enormous host of Gujarātīs. Compare Temple, 226; P. (hin), 146; Shah, 163 for drinking among Hindus who sometimes lost 'the poor wits' they had into the bargain.

[1] Compare Q.S., 133.

[2] Compare *ibid.*, 51-2 for a description of a drinking party after a victory.

[3] Compare *ibid.*, 34, 163 for an illustration.

[4] Compare the observations of Khusrau. A.S., 22 and M.A., 78.

[5] For details see B., 284–6.

The Mughal Emperor Akbar wanted to go very far in regulating the use of drinks. He personally believed that moderate drinking was positively good, provided a person consulted a physician and took due care of his health ; further, that such drinking did not lead to the commission of a public nuisance. The Emperor therefore ordered public bars to be opened under official supervision. There was a fixed rate of charges and a register of the particulars of sale to satisfy the State that proper regard was being paid to the health of the people and their public behaviour. Other bars were opened for common drunkards where probably fewer restrictions were enforced. This was the measure of a statesman and administrator, and as such, was naturally misunderstood by narrow-minded theologians.[1]

Mention may be made in this connection of drugging, which, however, prevailed on a smaller scale. Opium was taken by many people. Some took it as a stimulant,[2] others for pleasure. In some cases opium was resorted to remove a dangerous person.[3] The opium-eating of the Emperor Humāyūn is very well known. The Rājputs have acquired a well-deserved fame for opium-eating. They are still notorious for this weakness. Opium-eating is still prevalent among common people, though the recent restrictions of the League of Nations will go a long way to restrict its production and consumption.[4] The favourite drug of the Hindu religious orders was *bhāng* (or leaves of hemp) and numerous references are made to it in religious literature. It will be interesting to know in this connection that the Sikh tradition credits the Mughal Emperor Bābur with offering *bhāng* to their Guru, Nānak, as the pious gift of one darwish to another.[5] The smoking of tobacco was introduced after the period under review and so does not concern us directly. Poison was taken in exceptional cases to counteract the effect of poison. This habit was naturally limited to the princes who were always exposed to the danger of being poisoned. The Hindu folklore is familiar with the 'poison maid'. Mahmūd Shāh and

---

[1] Compare the account of Budā'ūnī. M.T., II, 301-2. The fanatical historian, not knowing what a drink was like, even suspects that spirits were also composed of the essence of pork, although 'Allāh knoweth better'.

[2] Compare the account of *Purush-Pariksha*, 123.

[3] *Ibid.* for the suicide of miserable women through opium. Amīr Khusrau ascribes the death of Malik Kāfūr to opium. *Vide* D.R., 265-6.

[4] Compare I.G.I., VIII, 308-9 for the use of opium. Compare Crooke's, Herklot's, etc., 325 for the consumption of opium among Indian Muslims in modern times. Compare numerous references to Rājput opium-eating in Tod (for instance, II, 749). According to Watt's Dictionary, the Arabs were chiefly concerned in disseminating in the East the knowledge of the poppy plant.

[5] Compare Macauliffe, I, 120, 125. Compare I.G.I., XX, 293 for an instance of modern use.

Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt are both well-known instances of extreme poisoning.[1]

2. *Prostitution.*—In some ways, prostitution was known in India from ancient times. We are now becoming familiar with the institution of *Deva-dāsīs* in the Deccan. During our period, this tradition of offering girls to the sacred temples was quite strong. Ancient Hindu literature is familiar with public prostitutes who seem to be very popular and respectable in many cases. Treatises on sexual science, especially the *kāma-sūtra* which is supposed to be the best exposition on the science of erotics, were written long before the Muslims arrived on the scene.[2] We have already described the *harams* of the Sultān and the nobility and the vast numbers of inmates that were sometimes found there.

The Muslim attitude towards sex in general would be better illustrated by a characteristic anecdote which comes from the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn K͟haljī. It is related by the *Tārīk͟h-i-Firishta* that a courtier once complained to the K͟haljī monarch that although he had organized the sale of all popular and important articles of consumption at a uniform and satisfactory rate, he had utterly neglected regulating the use of the most popular commodity in the market. The Sultān was somewhat surprised to realize that the courtesans and public women 'whose houses had become the most favourite haunts of all soldiers and the ruin of so many youths' had been entirely left out. With a smile of approval, the monarch fixed the tariff of wages for public women and circulated an order among them whereby they were severely prohibited from raising their charges above the scheduled rates.[3] The works of poetry and mysticism are quite often full of terms of physical and carnal love which reflect the general sexual reactions of the contemporary society. Hardly any evidence is required in such case to prove the fact of prostitution or its prevalance on a wide scale.[4] Under Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn K͟haljī, the number of prostitutes in Delhi appears to have given cause for official anxiety; so that some of the public prostitutes were conferred in marriage, relieving the profession of too much congestion.[5]

---

[1] Compare P.P., 82 for reference in folk-lore. Compare Barbosa, I, 122 for the details of poison-eating by Muzaffar Shāh.

[2] Compare J.D.L., 1921, 116-7 where it is asserted that *Kāma-sūtra* was composed as early as the third century A.D. in western India.

[3] Compare T.F., I, 199.

[4] Compare Amīr Khusrau's description of a lustful wench in I.K., 88-9; compare P.P., 146, how harlots were 'the highest treasures of passion in the eyes of cunning husbands'. Compare Malik Muhammad Jāisī's description of the mart of public women of Simhala who sat in the balconies 'to bewitch the people by their various accomplishments'. *Vide* P., 57. For the South, compare the account of Nicolo Conti who finds every street of a town full of courtesans who enticed men 'with perfumes and soft annointments and tender age'. *Vide* Frampton, 137-8.

[5] Compare the observation of Amīr Khusrau in K.F., 9.

The attitude of the State towards public prostitution was never influenced by moral or religious considerations. No attempt was ever made to abolish or prohibit prostitution on ethical grounds. On the other hand, as we have just described, the administration helped in regulating the profession, which was also a source of revenue. The public prostitutes were further closely associated with music and dancing which occupied a very important place in the scheme of social pleasures. The Mughal Emperor Akbar wanted to go a step further in this case, as in the case of drinking. Outside the city of Delhi he constructed a separate quarter for the residence of public women, calling it by the humorous name of *Shaitānpūra* (The Devil's Quarter). All the public women were ordered to reside there. Special State officials were appointed to supervise the affairs of this quarter. A system of registration was instituted whereby persons who passed a night with a public woman were made to enter necessary particulars. A special permit had to be obtained from the Emperor if a government official or a public servant wanted to deflower a virgin. All breaches of the provisions were dealt with severely.[1]

Our treatment of this subject would not be complete without referring to unhealthy sexual practices and perversions for which ample evidence exists. The love of a male sweetheart which figures so prominently in contemporary Persian poetry and literature, does show an unhealthy sex-complex, even though it may imply nothing more. Due probably to the prevalence of slavery and Purdah, and to the segregation of a part of the population in military camps away from the operation of normal family influences, the handsome appearance of a youth had become an object of undue admiration, if not of carnal desire.[2] Outside India, the Persians, the Turks, and the Moors in general were familiar with the 'abominable sinne' of sodomy.[3] The same influence was strongly felt in Hindūstān, only Hindu society was comparatively free from this evil.[4] The public morals were degraded to an extraordinary degree, in this respect. The relations of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād with his male 'sweethearts', of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī with Malik Kāfūr and of his son and successor Mubārak Shāh with Khusrau Khān are too well known to need any amplification. Curiously enough, these open perversities do not call for any comment from historians or religious saints on moral or religious grounds, although the same persons were not slow to cast slurs on Raziyya Sultāna for no greater crime than that of throwing the veil

---

[1] Compare M.T., II, 301-2.

[2] M.D., I, 232 for the interesting story of the Jām Sanjar who was offered free service by many persons because of his handsome appearance.

[3] Compare the observations of Barbosa, I, 91, 96.

[4] Compare Frampton, 138; Major, 23.

and of raising a talented Abyssinian to the office formerly reserved for Turks. In fact, a book on royal manners definitely recommends sodomy to a nobleman.[1] We have even one reference to unnatural sexual relations with women, but it is not borne out by other evidence. The existence of the evil is by no means improbable.[2] Some passages of Amīr Khusrau in particular reflect the extremely low manners prevalent in this particular respect.[3]

To complete the catalogue of prominent social vices, mention may be made of gambling. We have already referred to gambling in our treatment of amusements and festivals. We have further pointed out that gambling is an old and respected tradition of the ancient Kshatriyas and that gambling is still resorted to on certain festivals with some sort of religious sanction as it was during the period under review. It only remains for us to add that the vice of gambling was by no means limited to Hindus or to the Mughal Sultāns. Amīr Khusrau describes a Muslim gambler as a familiar figure in society.[4]

Other Manners.

A. Public appearance and behaviour.—We have already said something about the Sultān and the distinctions and honours of the nobility. The rest of the people were guided by the behaviour and manners of the higher classes. The adage, that gravity and appearance maketh a man, was widely popular. It was commonly believed that the inaccessibility of a monarch was his most useful asset. People honoured him because they could view him only from a respectable distance.[5] We have already said that when noblemen went out they were conveyed in rich palanquins and were usually preceded by chargers with costly trappings and were surrounded by a crowd of retainers, composed of horsemen, footmen, horn-blowers, torch-bearers, musicians, and servants. In special cases, the nobles had the further right of having drums beaten in their procession when they were moving about outside the capital city.[6]

These ideas of public behaviour reacted on personal manners. Dignity and pride were the outstanding features of the contem-

---

[1] Compare Qūbūs-Nāma (B.M., MS. 47-48); this particular passage has been deleted from the Bombay edition. B., 391.

[2] Compare T., 27*b*.

[3] Compare I.K., V, 106–113.

[4] Compare K.K., 313; M.A., 151, where Khusrau gives a pen-picture of a Muslim gambler. His wife and children go about famished and ill clad, and, according to the poet, he would not even scruple to sell his daughter. He wonders why he was tolerated by Muslim society. Compare Macauliffe, I, 160, for a reference to gambling.

[5] Compare M.A., 106.

[6] Compare the description of a gentleman in public, in Raverty, 660; Major, 14; the privilege of drum-beating, A., 443.

porary nobility. Duels, as we have mentioned, were fought, and challenges were freely given and accepted. Not a few wars were carried on in pursuance of these notions of personal honour. It is related that when the Rājā of Warangal handed over all his hoards and treasures to Khusrau Khān, the General of Sultān Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, the latter still suspected that the former had not carried out his agreement faithfully. When these accusations were conveyed to the Rājā, he realized his utter helplessness against the General of the Sultān, but this did not stop him from sending a dignified refusal to give any more explanations. The Rājā proudly told him that he had too good an opinion of himself to care for the threats and favours of the Khān.[1] It is unnecessary to recount similar instances from Rājput or even from Muslim history. Amīr Khusrau correctly interpreted the aristocratic feeling when he said that the 'silent heights of a mountain peak safeguard its dignity and grandeur'.[2]

This, however, did not prevent people from being extremely courteous and amiable. We have already referred to the courtesy which was usually shown to the fair sex. Similarly, when a visitor called on a nobleman, the latter greeted him by rising from his seat and advancing a few steps to receive the visitor. On conducting him to the drawing-room he first insisted that the visitor should occupy a seat, which was probably more comfortable and elevated than his own, and in any case, compelled the visitor to sit beside him. Some fresh fruits of the season were immediately put before him for refreshment. If the visitor came with an offering (*bhaint*) the host returned the compliment with a gift of greater value on their parting. In fact, this custom became universal and was known as 'the parting gift' (*dastūrī-i-raftan*).[3] We have already spoken of the royal custom in this respect.

If a nobleman paid a ceremonial visit to another nobleman, he usually went on a fine charger. His host came some distance to receive him. On approaching each other, they alighted from their horses, and after removing their parasols or other distinguishing encumbrances, they advanced towards each other. The situation ended in their meeting half way in a warm and hearty embrace. Then they rode back together to the house of the host, where the guest was surrounded with every comfort and invited to partake of the choicest food.[4]

B. Conversation.—In a formal gathering, one was not supposed to begin a conversation with someone else unless spoken to.

---

[1] Compare the account of Amīr Khusrau in *Kulliyāt*, 696; also J.H., 86, for classical examples of Hindu honesty.

[2] M.A., 113.

[3] Compare the account of Ibn Batūta in K.R., II, 8; also I.K., II, 265-6, Raverty, 722-3. The custom of *Bhaint* is still prevalent in the United Provinces, especially among the village-folk.

[4] Compare A., 237, for an illustration.

Even when the difficulty had been overcome, the conversation did not progress beyond certain well-defined limits. It was brief and pleasant. The speaker refrained from making any references to his own achievements or generosity. The conversation was carried on in a soft and sweet tone. Scrupulous care was taken to avoid offensive remarks, for as their popular saying warned them 'an indiscreet word often leads to very awkward complications'. No indelicate language was used in any circumstances. Vulgar jokes or rude remarks were not replied to and loud laughter was avoided. In a word, short and refreshing were the watchwords of conversation.[1]

The question of oaths is somewhat difficult to answer. The orthodox, as a rule, did not permit swearing, under any condition whatever.[2] But if the solemnity of an occasion demanded, careful selection was made from among holy objects for taking oaths.[3] The soldier had a weakness for swearing. A refined military general confined himself to the use of '*Haqqā*' (' by God ').[4] The sanctity of a word in certain cases was permitted to be vouched for by such oaths as those of Allāh, the Prophet, the *Sharī'at*, the *Imām*, the Qur'ān, the 'sword', and the 'salt'.[5] The profuse oaths of common people and their way of swearing do not bear repetition. The Hindus usually took an oath by the Ganges to add force and authority to their statement.[6] Among Rājputs the throne of the ruler and *Satis* were sacred.

Mention may be made in this connection of the custom of avowing a friendship or an alliance on solemn occasions. Among the Rājput the offer and acceptance of betel-leaf (*bīrā*) served to bind those who accepted it. Another manner of avowing an alliance was by tying the waistbands or the corners of each other's garments together and thus advancing in the face of the enemy. This original Hindu custom later spread among the Muslims also.[7]

---

[1] Compare for rules of conversation M.A., 113–117, 66, 68; K.R., II, 104.

[2] Compare the view of *Tuhfa-i-Nasā'ih*, 15*b*.

[3] Compare an amusing instance in K.K., 463. A Sayyid was offended at some remarks of Amīr Khusrau. In his apology, the poet called on the most sacred objects to vouch for his innocence, namely, God, the Prophets of God, Muhammad, his ten associates and his descendants, the Imāms and the saints of Islām, finally (and this was very delicate and more sacred) the prayer-carpet of his *Pīr* or spiritual preceptor.

[4] Compare the instance of Martyr Prince, B., 67.

[5] Compare D.R., 250, for an account of the pledges 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī extracted from Malik Kāfūr on his death-bed.

[6] Compare a reference in Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī, 25.

[7] Compare the account of Miyān Kālā Pahār, an Afghān noble in W.M., 37*b*; also E.D., I, 313. Tod refers to a moving illustration from later Mughal history, when Rājā Abhai Singh of Mārwār accepts the *bīrā*. Vol. II, 1040.

C. Hindu Manners.—The Hindu manners, as a whole, were sweet and informal and not quite so sophisticated and demonstrative as those of the Muslims. On arrival, a guest in a Hindu house was welcomed with special forms. In ordinary cases betel-leaf and flowers were offered to the visitor.[1] In the case of a distinguished visitor a platform was raised, flowers were strewn over it, and sandal-wood paste was held in readiness to rub on the forehead. *Ārtī* was also performed by the waving of a few wick lamps before him to remove the possible effects of the Evil Eye.[2] If the visitor was the Guru or the spiritual preceptor of the family, he was marked out for the highest honours. On arrival, his feet were washed, in perfumed water if the host could afford the expense. Sandal-wood paste was then rubbed all over his body; a garland of flowers was put round his neck and a tuft of Tulsī flowers on his head. After these preliminaries, the host showed his personal devotion by prostrating himself at the feet of his Guru and by making obeisance to him with folded palms. The wife of the devotee personally cooked the food for the Guru.[3] This Guru tradition has left its impress on present Hindu manners.

1. *Hindu Women.*—The woman was treated with special respect in a Hindu home. If she was a mother, she was marked out for special devotion, as we have already mentioned. For instance, before setting out on an errand, the Hindu would not forget to bow at the feet of his mother and ask for her blessing.[4] It is difficult for a Hindu to remember his mother without being deeply moved by it. The relations between the husband and the wife were somewhat formal though sweet and delicate. On occasions of deep emotion the wife rubbed her forehead or her eyes against the feet of her husband to show her feelings of

---

[1] Compare for illustration P. (hin), 262; P.B., LXIX; Sudāmacharita, 10.

[2] P.B., CCC.

[3] Compare Sircar, 54, 167; Sudāmacharita, 14. Compare in this connection some remarks of S. Saklatvala (sometimes M.P. for Battersea) in a letter which he addressed to M. K. Gandhi, the Indian political leader. This letter was widely published by Indian papers early in March, 1927. After reviewing the ordinary behaviour of Indian crowds who used to pass by Gandhi with folded hands and downcast eyes, he proceeds to comment on what he witnessed himself in Yeotmal. 'However, I strongly object to your permitting my countrymen and countrywomen to touch your feet and put their fingers in their eyes. Such touchability appears to be more damnable than untouchability, and I would sooner wish that two persons did not touch each other than that one human being should be touched by another in the way in which you were touched. The depressed classes were subject to a sort of disability, but this new phase of a man of the depressed class worshipping the feet of his deliverer is a more real individual depression and degradation of life, and however much you misunderstand me, I must call upon you to stop this nonsense'.—'Is India different?' London, 1927 (a pamphlet).

[4] Compare Sircar, 9, for an illustration.

devotion. The husband replied by an equally tender kiss on her forehead. Beyond these limits they did not usually go in public. If she was a young bride, the wife slightly covered her face before her husband in public with the hem of her shroud or *sārī*, out of modesty.[1] The relations between other men and women were formal, though gallantries of a most delicate nature were not wanting between the two sexes.[2]

Among other Hindu manners reference may be made to a general spirit of humanity and kindness. Apart from rations of food that were distributed to the poor, cold and refreshing water was also given to passing travellers and thirsty wayfarers in the hot season.[3]

2. *Ahimsa* (*or Non-violence*).—Reference may be made in this connection to the practice of extreme 'non-violence' among a section of Hindus in Gujarāt. The Hindus all over the land were extremely kind to all animate beings. The killing of animals and bloodshed in general were looked upon with horror and repulsion.[4] In Gujarāt, the home of Jainism, this attitude was carried to extreme and somewhat ridiculous lengths. For instance, some people of Gujarāt used to buy insects and birds to save them from slaughter or confinement. They sometimes even paid big ransoms to buy criminals from justice. If they walked on the roads, they shrunk back from the ants and insects. They took their meals only during the day, before sunset, for fear of injuring insects in the darkness of the night. In fact, a class of ascetics arose who bred lice and worms in their hair and body and were highly respected on that account. Cunning beggars scared these Gujarātīs into compulsory charity by a pretence of committing suicide. Varthema, after his visit to Gujarāt, was thoroughly convinced that the Gujarātīs would be saved but for their lack of Christian baptism for 'they never do to others what they would not that others should do unto them'. For this extreme goodness of heart, as the shrewd traveller observed, the Muslim conquerors had deprived the Gujarātīs of their kingdom and the power to rule themselves.[5]

---

[1] Compare P. (hin), 290. Compare *ibid.*, 280.

[2] Compare Tod, I, 364-5, for an appreciation and significance of 'the festival of the bracelet'. Rākhī or Rakshabandan is one of the few occasions when a Hindu maiden bestows with the gift of the bracelet the title of adopted brother. The bracelet is sometimes returned with the gift of a corset of silk. This interchange of gifts binds the two in most delicate and intimate relations and as Tod observes, scandal itself never suggests any other tie to the devotion of a man.

[3] Compare T., 28, for its influence on Muslims.

[4] Compare K.K., 709, for the observations of Amīr Khusrau who even believes that the mildness of a Hindu peasant persuades the pestering deer to leave his fields without there ever arising the necessity of an untoward show of violence. Compare the sentiments of Vidyāpati on non-violence in P.P., 112.

[5] Compare Barbosa, I, 111-12; Varthema, 109.

In other respects, the duties of neighbours were not neglected and people took sympathetic and beneficial interest in the business and affairs of their absent neighbours. The extreme usefulness and value of such neighbourly sympathy will be better appreciated when it is realized that military duties sometimes called a soldier for months on end to distant places.[1]

3. *Personal Hygiene.*—No account of Hindu manners can be complete without some reference to their religious ideas, which also influenced Muslim customs to a considerable extent. We have already referred to the system of castes and domestic customs. The ideas of personal hygiene were equally influenced by religious beliefs. The fear of defilement and pollution haunts the imagination of an orthodox Hindu to a very extraordinary degree. For instance, should a woman be undergoing her courses, she was unclean during the period and for twelve days afterwards. She was segregated and was not allowed to touch any eatables or the clothing of male members or to enter the precincts of the kitchen.[2] There was an almost inexhaustible catalogue of objects of defilement which would have made everyday life absolutely unbearable but for the practical ingenuity of the Hindu mind. Side by side with these polluting objects there is an equally extensive range of purifying objects which succeed in counteracting the influence of the others. Those who are anxious to read the details would find the necessary information in the pages of Abu'l Fazl.[3] If a person succeeded in enlisting the good-will of the Brāhman priest, he could make his life fairly agreeable and even pleasant.

Among other manners we may mention that a special sanctity attached to those fortunate people who were born on the western side of the river Karamnāsa in Bihar or in the Upper Gangetic plains and also died in that sacred region. Any indiscreet venture beyond these geographical limits degraded their future incarnation and there was every danger of their being born in a very disagreeable state of life at the next birth. The belief still survives in a modified and local form.[4] It was natural for the Muslims in these conditions to assimilate some of these and other Hindu beliefs and prejudices.

We have already noticed the influence of caste and the Hindu domestic customs on Muslims. We shall notice a few more in this connection. When a person entered a mosque, he was to put his right foot first and any breach of this injunc-

---

[1] Compare an illustrative story in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, 14-15.

[2] Compare A.A., II, 183.

[3] *Ibid.*, 170.

[4] Compare the observations of Bābur, B.N., 343*b*. Compare I.G.I. under 'Karam-nasa' for the fact that the belief still lingers. Compare also Shah, 144, for the ridicule of Kabīr on the stigma that attached to deaths in Māghar (Basti District, U.P.).

tion was reprehensible.[1] Similarly he was to be particularly on his guard against pollution. For instance, without ceremonial ablutions it was a sin to touch the Qur'ān. Again, meals were forbidden to anyone in a state of impurity. A Muslim was warned not to urinate in a state of complete nakedness. Sleeping after the midday meal was an act of piety which suited the hot climate of the plains very well. Regular baths and the cleaning of teeth and other customs were common to members of both communities.[2]

Hindūstān on the Eve of Akbar.

We have now come to the close of our survey of social life in Hindūstān, which has necessarily been brief and sketchy. Our estimate of the social developments in Hindūstān on the eve of the reign of Akbar the Great would now be easier. We started by saying that the period under review is the formative period of Indian society as it shaped itself under the late Mughals and in some measure, even as it survives to-day. We have also noticed that the official record of the reign of Akbar, compiled by his brilliant and talented courtier and friend, Abu'l Fazl, is somewhat defective in so far as it neglects to do justice to the contribution of his predecessors. As the course of political developments unfolds itself, the fact becomes clearer that the maximum territorial expansion of the Sultanate synchronized with the high water-mark of social and cultural advancement. In this respect we might almost say that except for a few contributions which have been duly noted in their proper place, a very large measure of social progress had been achieved by the time of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, when the dismemberment of the Sultanate commenced. The rulers and the upper classes of Indian society lived in an atmosphere of the greatest luxury and the highest refinement to which the culture of the age had advanced. Delhi represented the most advanced capital of Asia from every point of view. In view of this fact, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and his son and successor assumed the title of 'the Caliph of Islām'. Muhammad Tughluq, who stooped

---

[1] Compare M.T.I., 468, for Humāyūn sending back a visitor as a punishment for the breach of observance and ordering him to re-enter in accordance with the approved manner.

[2] For Hindu bath, compare K.K., 706. But they did not use bath-rooms (Frampton, 142) on a large scale and were partial to running water. For drinking water they carried their own vessels (*vide* Yule, II, 342; also A.S., 32). It is amusing to note in this connection that the right hand alone was used for taking food and for all clean and becoming purposes (*vide* Yule, II, 342). On entering the house, a Hindu left his shoes at the door. P. (hin), 250. Cow-dung was universally used to plaster the floor of a house and the operation had to be done quite often (*vide* Varthema, 155).

to recognize a shadow caliph, was thoroughly conscious of his own unequalled greatness in the world of Islām.

It goes without saying that this culture and refinement of a very small upper class had no relation to the life of the common people.[1] The life of the vast majority of common people was stereotyped and unrefined and represented a very low state of mental culture. The economic condition of the masses will be gathered from a few stray references to their life which have been noted in their proper place. If a study of their religious life and culture was included in the present survey, it would be found to be full of the most primitive superstitions, charms, and magic. Their intellectual culture did not progress beyond the stage of folklore, folk-songs, and ghost stories. Little can be said about the political life of the common people when their life consisted of nothing but obligations and economic burdens. The great achievements of the age cannot be detached from this necessary social counterpart. The whole life and culture of the age, its good and bad points, its beauty and ugliness are an integral whole. It is beyond our purview to discuss the causes of decline but we may observe that most of them lie in these glaring social contradictions.

It would not be without some interest to examine in this connection some observations of the Mughal Emperor Bābur which have become famous and quite popular with some uncritical historians. We have noticed in our introduction the great damage done to the perspective of Indian social history by the undue emphasis which Abu'l Fazl puts on the achievements of his patron and ruler, the great Mughal Emperor Akbar. This popular misconception gains additional force and strength by the observations of the founder of the Mughal dynasty whose intellectual honesty, and acute powers of observation, talent, and cultivated tastes are beyond dispute. He combined in himself the virile qualities of the two sturdy races of Asia, the Mongol and the Turk. To these he added the urbanity of the Persian. We are indebted to him for giving Hindūstān a dynasty of successive magnificent rulers and builders of empire whose work lasts to this day. The Tāj at Āgra, the Jāmi' Mosque and Fort at Delhi, are as much symbolical of the glory of the Mughals as the poetry of Khān-i-Khānān, the stories of Bīrbal, the talent of Abu'l Fazl or the administrative genius of Todar Mal, all of which have enriched the culture of Hindūstān. In fact, the legend of Akbar, the Mughal Emperor, in the popular mind occupies the same position as the mythical heroes and the *rishis* and *munis* of the ancient. Far from denying the

---

[1] Compare Pero Tefur for the observations of Nicolo Conti. Conti dissuades Pero Tefur from going to India. He tells him that on visiting India one witnesses a most offensive display of wealth. One sees abundance of pearls, gold, and precious stones, but how could it profit the observer 'since the people are beasts who wear them'.

Mughal contribution, therefore, we would give it an honoured place in evaluating the stock of Indian culture.

If we are to be guided by the observations of Bābur, it would be difficult to persuade ourselves to believe that Hindūstān was in any sense a civilized country, much less a country in an advanced state of material and intellectual progress. Bābur tells us frankly that the 'masses of gold and silver' and the 'unnumbered and endless workers of every kind' alone recommend Hindūstān to him. 'India is a country of few charms', he proceeds to tell us. 'Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none; of genius and capacity none; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the bazaars, no hot baths, no colleges, no candles, torches or candle-sticks'. He even finds fault with the Indian climate, for according to him it was unfavourable to the use of Trans-oxianian bows.[1] Never was a condemnation more complete or unequivocal.

How Bābur came to form such an unhistorical and poor estimate of the Indian social development of his times, we are totally at a loss to understand. It may be that the visitation of Tīmūr before him in 1398 had so much devastated the land that a century and a quarter of comparatively unstable and weak central administration and a state of comparative civil war did not succeed in rehabilitating the fabric of social life. It may be, which is not unlikely, that he was led away by the haughty contempt so natural in a conqueror, in evaluating the achievements of the conquered people. In any case it damages the scientific character of his charming autobiography. It is very amazing to hear this from one who goes about in the palaces of Gwalior and the surroundings of Delhi, Āgra, and Lahore. It is true there is a sense in which these observations may be said to be perfectly correct; but Bābur was far from observing in that light. We have already observed that the vast masses of the people had no share in the comforts and refinements of the few. Bābur, in this sense, is perfectly correct if he takes such an ultra-democratic and modern view of social progress. We shall have to dismiss this view, however, since he and his successors only perpetuated the system and made the disparity between the upper and the lower classes still more glaring.[2]

As a matter of fact, as we have emphasized in the Introduction, the age of the Turks and the Afghāns, besides setting up patterns for its followers, does not compare very

---

[1] Compare Bābur-Nāma, 267-8; Beveridge, II, 518-20.

[2] Compare the estimate of Moreland for the reign of Shāh Jahān. 'From Akbar to Aurangzeb', pp. 302-5.

unfavourably with the age of Akbar, to say nothing of the reign of the founder of the Mughal dynasty. In poetry and mental culture, Amīr Khusrau, Malik Muhammad Jāisī, Chandī Dās, and Mukandrām still stand as the high water-mark of our intellectual culture. In religious poetry it is true that Tulsī Dās of a later date occupies an unrivalled and magnificent position, but the beginnings of the great movement which produced Tulsī Dās had been laid long before Akbar, even before Bābur. In art and architecture, although the glories of Shāh Jahān, the Mughal Emperor, were in the womb of the future, the products of the reign of the Sultāns and of other provincial monarchs were no mean achievements in comparison. In the sphere of administration, we can only remark that though the century preceding the Mughal Emperor Akbar is not very fortunate in administrative talent, the claims of Sher Shāh and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, who rob all the originality of their Mughal rival, can hardly be disputed. In one respect, the age with which we deal is superior to the one that followed it. It was the period of growth and healthy vigour, the age of adolescence. It bloomed into maturity, while the latter is followed by decay and disruption. The whole frame-work of the culture of the former shows signs of virility and vigour while the greatness of the latter cannot be dissociated from the germs of decadence and the loss of vitality and growth.[1]

Let us now proceed at some length with the examination of Bābur's observations. On close examination we find that all his remarks resolve themselves into an analysis of three main social features : the beauty and charm of person, the fauna and flora of the land, and the state of material comforts. Let us take the points in order :—

1. *Beauty and charm of person.*—Bābur complains of the lack of beauty and charm. We have pointed out elsewhere how physical accomplishments were prized above everything, even at the expense of other qualities of heart and mind. Beauty of person was cultivated with a scruple and devotion worthy of a nobler cause. The students of contemporary literature are familiar with the 32 (or according to others 16) approved qualities of an ideal female beauty. These cover almost every aspect of the feminine figure, namely, the hair, neck, nose, lips, eyebrows and eyelashes, the fingers and the rest of the body. The literature on the science of erotics gives this ideal of perfect feminine beauty the well-known name of *Padminī* which has passed into household proverbs to-day.[2] Persons whose opinion of men

---

[1] Compare a very interesting document on Mughal culture by Hidayat Husain in *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1913, 'Mīrzā-Nāma' which though ascribed to Mīrzā Kāmrān was probably written much later.

[2] Compare P., 76-7 ; Hindi text, 214, for a detailed analysis of the virtues of a Padminī.

and things should carry weight have not neglected to deal with this interesting question. Amīr Khusrau, for instance, after a comparative examination of all popular types of contemporary beauty—the Turkish, the Tartar, the Persian, the Chinese, the Greek, the Russian, and several others—comes to the conclusion that the female of Hindūstān was incomparably beautiful. While all others excelled in some respects and grievously lacked in other qualities, the Indian female alone combined all moral, physical, and intellectual virtues in her person. Though Khusrau betrays a certain amount of patriotic prejudice, his estimate cannot be dismissed as altogether biassed.[1] Other evidence is not wanting to support his contention.[2]

2. *Fauna and flora.*—Bābur complains among other things of a certain lack of fruits, in which he is partly justified, for he claims to have been the introducer of the musk-melon into Hindūstān. But he was hardly justified in saying all he did on the basis of this meagre contribution. Hindūstān has always been rich in fruits and flowers and, as we have remarked, even Hindu social and religious ceremonies reveal their place in the scheme of Indian life. We have dwelt upon the subject elsewhere, but we shall add one observation of Amīr Khusrau in this place. In his classification of contemporary flowers, Amīr Khusrau speaks of those flowers which had been introduced from Persia long before, namely, *Banafsha*, *Yāsaman*, and *Nasrīn*, and others which were originally Indian but were called by foreign names, namely, *Gul-kūza*, *Gul-i-sad-barg*. In proof of the fact that the latter category of flowers is indigenous, he challenges his opponents to prove their existence anywhere outside India. Among other Indian flowers he mentions a few, namely, *Bailā*, *Kevrā*, *Champā*, *Molsirī*, *Sevtī*, *Daunā*, *Karnā*, and *Laung* (which was familiar to the people under its Arabic name *Qaranfal*). We agree with the observation of Khusrau that the reputation of Hindūstān suffered from undue modesty in this respect; for if Syria or Greece were in possession of such a treasure, they would have trumpeted out their pride and glory all over the world.[3] We have already spoken of fruits and gardens in a previous chapter.[4]

3. *Material comforts.*—The last and the most important point which Bābur has raised concerns the standard of material

---

[1] Compare D.R., 133-4, for the estimate of Amīr Khusrau. The poet is somewhat conscious of the brown complexion, but dismisses his fears by consoling himself with the idea that brown is also the colour of wheat, which, according to the Muslim legend, tempted Adam and was thus indirectly instrumental for the creation of the world.

[2] Compare Zakariya Qazwīnī on the contemporary Kashmīrī women (Wustenfeld Edition, 69); also Tod on Rājput women.

[3] Compare D.R., 129–132, for a detailed description of flowers.

[4] Compare a description of an Oudh garden in this connection from the pen of Amīr Khusrau. Mirza, 98-9.

comforts and social refinements in contemporary Hindūstān. An idea of the luxury and comfort as well as the social pleasures of the Sultāns of Delhi and the nobility can be gathered from the pages of such contemporary chroniclers as Amīr Khusrau, Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, and from the accounts of travellers given in *Masālik-ul-absār* and Ibn Batūta. We have dealt with it somewhere else. Here we shall confine ourselves to a few illustrations from Hindu society and the provincial kingdoms of Mālwa and Bengal. In all these cases, the standard of comfort was decidedly lower than that achieved under the Sultāns of Delhi.

In numerous places Malik Muhammad Jāisī introduces his readers to Hindu comforts. In one place, for instance, the scene is laid in Simhala (which, as we have emphasized in the Introduction, applies to the Doāb) in the palace of the father of Padumāvat. The hero and heroine pass their wedding night after marriage in a room of the palace. The whole description breathes of an atmosphere of reality and reveals delicate taste and refinement. We read here about statuettes carved in stone pillars, depicting scenes from the everyday life of the people. We pass a perfume-seller who offers perfume with one hand and carries shaded light in the other. Others attend us with musk, vermilion, betel-leaves, flowers, and so on. Their execution impresses us with its perfection and life-likeness. In the middle of the room we notice the bed of the married couple. It is furnished with pillows full of carded silk. Flowers are strewn over it. There are pillars around the bridal bed with wick-lamps made out of shells, covered with red shades and inlaid with precious stones. The floor is laid with rich and beautiful carpets.[1] This is a scene from the life of the Hindu aristocracy. For other scenes, we shall refer to Bābur's own descriptions of Gwalior and Chanderī. For instance, we have already referred to the extensive gardens round Dholpur which shaded the roads that led to it.

From Mālwa comes evidence not only of comforts and luxury but also of elaborate refinements. Consider, for instance, a description of Tārīkh Muzaffar Shāhī, regarding the decoration of Māndū on the occasion of Muzaffar Shāh's visit. All royal buildings were profusely decorated. In some places jewelled thrones were set up and imitation gardens were laid around them. These gardens were full of trees and fruits all worked with metals and jewels and precious stones. Special experts were employed to decorate the city. On both sides of the market an avenue of trees made with wax was laid which were lined with richly scented silks. The minstrels and dancers were entertaining all over the place, reciting eulogies in honour of the Sultān of Māndū and the distinguished visitor, the Sultān

[1] Compare P. (hin), 131-2, for details.

of Gujarāt. In some places, confectioners and sweetmeat-sellers offered every visitor sweets, sherbets, and betel-leaves which were served on gold plate.[1] The main lines of these public entertainments are identical with those at Delhi.

Let us examine the information of *Kitāb-i-Ni'mat-Khāna-i-Nāsir-Shāhī*, which, as far as we can judge, was compiled in Mālwa under the Khaljī Sultāns. The compiler introduces us to a variety of drinks, cosmetics, and dishes, and gives their recipes. Among wines, he mentions the preparation of wine scented with sandal-wood, saffron, rose, and ambergris, etc.[2] In its enumeration of cosmetics, the book does not stop at the usual *ubtans* or rubbing powders, but goes into the niceties of separate powders for the arm-pits, for the scenting of breath, and the colouring of teeth. Snuffs have not been ignored and the provisions of the chase have been treated with elaborate care and details.[3] Among the recipes, there is an almost inexhaustible variety which comprises the choicest dishes of Hindus and Muslims. All of these varieties have numerous recipes for preparation. There are special dishes pertaining to various seasons, namely, for the rainy season, the cold weather, the spring, when there is a cool and refreshing breeze, etc. Banquets, of course, have been dealt with in detail. The chase and picnic provisions are among other specialities. This by no means exhausts the list.[4] One may find fault with the want of modern delicacy, a certain amount of gaudiness and a violent and unnecessary display of gold, but the age could hardly be condemned for not surpassing itself.

Let us now take a last example from Bengal. We have it on the authority of Rizq-Ullāh Mushtāqī that Humāyūn was almost bewildered at the sight of the Bengal luxuries. To put it in the graphic language of the historian, the Emperor found 'in every nook and corner of Bengal, a paradise inhabited by houries and full of incomparably luxurious palaces'. Fountains were playing in the gardens of these palaces; costly carpets were spread on the floors. Its niches and cupboards were full of scent goblets worked in gold. The pillars of the buildings were constructed out of sandal-wood. The flooring was done with Chinese tiles. Similar tiles were also used in

---

[1] Compare Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī, 49-50, for details.

[2] Compare K.N.K., 177-8.

[3] Compare K.N.K., 121–4, for details for cosmetics and powders. Compare *ibid.*, 153–5, for the provisions of the chase. The compiler gives detailed instructions. Among other articles, he advises that the '*shikār*-kit' should include a light handkerchief to find out the direction in which the wind is blowing, a special suit of clothes, an astrolabe to indicate the hour, a portable shooting box (hut), and even some sandal-wood and camphor to rub on the feet before putting on shoes and socks. He also advises some camphor to be sewn inside the shoes to avoid the odour of perspiration.

[4] Compare the enumeration of special foods in *ibid.*, 156–8.

the walls of the rooms. Costly furniture and luxurious curtains adorned the rooms of the palaces. The garden was laid with beds of flowers and stone channels of water. When Humāyūn went to live in one of these buildings, he was so fascinated with the whole environment that he refused to pause in his pleasure for two months and no public levee was held during this period.[1] The son of Bābur must have formed a very poor estimate of his father as a historian and observer!

[1] Compare W.M., 45, for details.

APPENDIX A.

Some General Data.

In this appendix we shall consider some facts in a general way, namely population, the seat of the Delhi Kingdom, measures of time and distance, coins, weights. An attempt will be made at the close to give the value of the *Tanka*, the silver coin, in modern money equivalents.

1. *Population.*—It is difficult to form any clear idea of the population of Hindūstān during the period under review. No systematic record was ever kept by the government of the population of the kingdom. It is reported that once when Sultān Muhammad Tughluq decided to give relief to the people of Delhi, he ordered the judicial functionaries to compile census registers of the various quarters of the capiṭal city. The results of even this solitary attempt are unknown. Further, we do not know if this was the usual procedure in the organization of relief, or if the operations extended to areas beyond the city of Delhi.[1] In the absence of official statistics, most of our attempts can be little different from speculation.

Among the historians and chroniclers, the *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh* is about the only one that has given any tentative figures. Its information, again, appears to have been borrowed from some other source.[2] The author estimates that 'Sawalak' territory contained 125,000 'cities', Gujarāt 80,000 'villages' and Mālwa 893,000 villages.[3] The author has not cared to discuss the average size of the population of what he classifies as cities, towns, and villages. This estimate of *Jami'-ut-Tawārīkh* would put the number of villages in the west of Hindūstān at about a million. If we take the combined territory of Sawalak, Gujarāt and Mālwa to represent about a fourth of the area of Hindūstān and by no means the most populated, the number of villages for the whole of Hindūstān would come to about four millions—a figure which exceeds the present total number of villages for the whole of the Indian sub-continent.[4] No comment is required in rejecting such an absurdly high estimate.

---

[1] Compare the account of Ibn Batūta K.R., II, 51.

[2] We are given to understand that the region of 'Sawalak' lay in the neighbourhood of Gujarāt and Mālwa and may have corresponded to what is now called Rājputāna. The figure of population put for 'Sawālāk' (which means a lac and a quarter) is so closely related to the literal meaning of the term, that it suggests a certain correlation which though fanciful, is not altogether unlikely.

[3] Compare Elliot, 42-3.

[4] The Indian Year Book, 1931, estimates the number of villages for the whole of India (including the Indian States) at 685, 665 or less than a million. *Vide* I.Y.B., 1931, 16.

There is very meagre and uncertain information about the population of big cities. The population of 'Gouro' (Gaur) the principal city of Bengal is estimated at 200,000 persons.[1] If this be taken as a correct estimate, which is not unlikely, Delhi for so many obvious reasons had probably a bigger population than 'Gouro'. We are in the dark about the population of other big cities of Hindūstān like Cambay (Khambāyat), Multān, Lahore, Āgra, Patna, and other religious centres like Muttra, Benares, and Ujjain. Probably their population was much less than Delhi, though considerable. None of these two estimates of rural and urban population helps us in forming any correct idea for the whole of Hindūstān. Mr. Moreland is of the opinion that the population of the Northern Indian plains from Multān to Monghyr must have been well over thirty millions and probably little less than forty millions, about the year 1605 A.D. He further estimates a total population of a hundred millions for the whole of India.[2]

2. *The Seat of the Central Government.*—The seat of the government before the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodī was located at Delhi except for a very short interval when Sultān Muhammad Tughluq moved to Deogīr, which he renamed Daulatābād. In 909 A.H. (1503 A.D.) when Sikandar Lodī removed there, Āgra became the seat of the Sultanate and continued to be so until the time of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān who returned to Delhi.[3]

Sultān Muhammad Tughluq probably realized that Delhi, situated as it was in the north, could not very well serve as the capital of a more extended empire which had expanded into the Deccan. He sought for a more centrally situated and more accessible capital than Delhi. It is reported that Ujjain was suggested to him because of its historic association and geographical position. The reasons for the rejection of this interesting suggestion are not given.[4] Unfortunately, the Deogīr experiment failed in spite of the wisdom of the choice. The Sultān transported the whole population of Delhi *en masse* to Deogīr and the people had to be brought back to Hindūstān. Finally, the whole scheme of an Indian empire did not materialize and the successors of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq had to content themselves with their Northern possessions.

3. *Measures of time.*—Disregarding for the moment the fanciful measures of *Kāla* and *Kalpa*, the longest measure of time below a century was a *Qarn* of 31 years' duration.[5] Lunar

---

[1] Barbosa, II, 246 (appendix).

[2] Compare Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, 22.

[3] Compare Z.W., III, 853; also Thomas, 365.

[4] Compare the account of *Firishta* T.F., I, 242.

[5] B., 115. The Hindus similarly made most minute divisions of smaller measures of time. They divided one *Pala* into 80 *chasias* and the latter again into 60 *visias* to one chasia.

calendars, which survive even to-day, were in use, though the Hindu reckoning appears to be more popular.[1] The festivals and in fact almost all the ceremonies of the Hindus, are regulated according to the lunar day or *tithi*. A Hindu lunar month consists of 30 lunar days and begins on the day of the full moon or the new moon. A fortnight ending with the full moon is known as the 'bright fortnight' and that ending with the new moon is called the 'dark fortnight'. The Hijrah year of the Muslims, on the other hand, though strictly lunar, has its months adjusted to the course of the moon by means of a cycle of 30 years, containing 19 common years of 354 days, and 11 intercalary years of 355 days. The cycle therefore contains 10,631 days and amounts to 29 Julian years and 39 days. Each year is divided into 12 months containing alternately 30 and 29 days with the exception of the last month of the intercalary years, which invariably contains 30 days. The intercalary years are the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th of the cycle. The Hijrah months are not constructed on astronomical principles. The month commences from the evening on which the new moon is seen. The duration of the month depends on the state of the atmosphere and may vary at different places not far distant from each other. No month, however, can contain less than 29 days or more than 30 days. The following are the names of the Hindu and the Muslim months respectively.[2]

The Hindu Months.	*The Muslim Months.*
1. Vaisākha.	1. Muharram.
2. Jaisṭha.	2. Safar.
3. Asāṛha.	3. Rabī'-ul-Awwal.
4. Srāvana.	4. Rabī'-us-Sānī.
5. Bhādra.	5. Jumāda-ul-Awwal.
6. Āsvina.	6. Jumāda-us-Sānī.
7. Kārttika.	7. Rajab.
8. Agrahayana.	8. Sha'bān.
9. Pausa.	9. Ramazān.
10. Māgha.	10. Shawwāl.
11. Phālguna.	11. Zul Qa'da.
12. Chaitra.	12. Zul Hijja.

[1] It may be observed in this connection that though Raverty agrees with this observation and suggests the adoption of Hindu months in official use (*vide* foot-note, p. 748), this inference can hardly be drawn from his reading of the text. Raverty has read '*Asārh*' (the Hindu month) into the text of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* in one place. The B.M. MS. of the *Tabaqāt* (Add. 26,189) gives the text بهار without any notation (f. 203) which the learned translator has read as '*Ahār*' and connects it with the Hindu month, drawing his conclusion from it. The text may, with greater relevancy, be read as *Bahār* and the phrase *Waqt-i-Bahār* (spring time) rather than *Waqt-i-Asārh* which will be an obvious misconstruction.

[2] Ross, Feasts, etc. Introduction and p. 115 (appendix).

For the division of the day and night into hours, they divided the whole of the day and night into 8 *Pahars* (Persian, *Pās*), each Pahar being equal to three hours of our modern time. These 8 Pahars were subdivided into 60 *Gharīs*, each *Gharī* being thus equal to 24 minutes of our reckoning. The *Gharī* was further divided into 60 *Palas*; so that a day and a night were composed of 3,600 *Palas*. The exact duration of a Pahar or Gharī was adjusted according to astronomical calculations, so that hardly any difficulty was experienced in finding out the exact time with the aid of a calendar. Bābur and Abu'l Fazl have made detailed observations in this connection.

Clepsydras were used to measure the time and *Ghariyāls* or gongs to announce the hour to the people in the principal towns, as has already been noted more than once.

4. *Measures of distance.*—The popular measure of distance was the *Kroh* (what is now a *Kos*). This term was universally used until the time of Akbar. We may count a *Kroh* as roughly two miles of our present reckoning.[1] The *Kroh* was subdivided into three stages or *Dhāwās* for the convenience of administrative calculations for the postal runners and the movement of troops, etc.[2]

The Indian yard has had a very chequered history. Many different measures of a yard were in use which differed from one locality to another and even for various commodities. Sultān Sikandar Lodī introduced a uniform measure of yard (*gaz*) for official calculation which works out (with the addition of $\frac{1}{84}$th of an inch) at 30 inches of the present measure.[3] So that our present yard stands in a ratio of 6 : 5 for purposes of rough calculation.

5. *Coins.*—The distinctive feature of the coins of the period is their monetary and not token value. So much so, that under certain circumstances, goldsmiths and dealers of bullion in the South were authorized to manufacture coins of the correct weight and intrinsic value, by prescriptive right. The State took every precaution to maintain the purity and the weight of the coins.[4] Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī made practically the

---

[1] Compare the opinion of A. S. Beveridge in her rendering of Bābur's memoirs; also A.A., I, 597, for a detailed discussion of the whole question.

[2] Compare the opinion of Ibn Batūta. K.R., II, 2; also E.D., III, 587.

[3] Compare the opinion of Edward Thomas, 371; a detailed discussion in A.A., I, 295-6; also T.F., I, 394-5.

[4] Thomas, 344. Compare also A., 345 for a very interesting story of the Wazīr of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq who was himself instrumental in helping the acquittal of an accused who was charged with debasing the coinage. The Wazīr explained to the Sultān that the coin to a Sultān was like a maiden daughter to a father. If perchance, rightly or even maliciously, doubts or reflections were cast on the chastity of a virgin, or her character was otherwise brought into disrepute, she could never find anyone who would agree to marry her, whatever her physical and mental accomplishments. Similarly, explained the wise Khān-i-Jahān.

only glaring attempt at debasing of coins. He contemplated reducing the silver *Tanka* from 175 to 140 grains of silver.[1] The solitary attempt of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq at introducing token currency failed. So that we can take it as a rule that the coins were of pure metal and standard weight.

The earliest coins that are mentioned during the period are the *Delhiwāls* of the 'Bull and horseman' device.[2] Although it is not necessary to accept an identity between these coins and the later money of account, our copper *Jītals* were merely a continuation of these old Delhiwāls of Hindu times.[3] The Jītals continued to be used until they were replaced by the *Bahlolī*, instituted by Sultān Bahlūl Lodī. We shall refer again to these developments. Like the copper Jītal, the silver *Tanka* which was introduced by Sultān Iltutmish, of a mint standard approaching 175 grains, was also connected with the older Hindu monetary system. The *Tanka* held its place until it was succeeded by the *Rupia* of Sher Shāh and Akbar and the *Rupee* of the present day. We have come across a few references to gold *Mohurs* but probably they were not used as money of account and do not concern us here.

The Muslims maintained the older system of division of silver coins into copper coins. The Hindus used a quarternary scale of enumeration. Fives and Tens were unknown quantities and decimals were of no account for them.[4] The Sultāns therefore divided the contents of a silver Tanka into 64 Jītals or *Kānīs* of copper or 8 *Hashtkānīs* (a coin equal to 8 Jītals).[5] Bahlūl Lodī instituted his *Bahlolī* which like the *Dām* of Sher Shāh and Akbar was reckoned at $\frac{1}{40}$th of a Tanka. Sultān Sikandar Lodī instituted his 'copper Tanka', 20 of which constituted the

---

the purity of metal and the exact weight of a coin recommended it to the people.

1 Compare Thomas, 158-9 and note.

2 Compare I.G.I., II, 144; Thomas, 47. Elphinstone is of the opinion that the earlier Muslim princes used the *Dīnārs* and the *Dirhams* of the Caliphs of Baghdād and these coins were succeeded by the *Tankas* and the *Jītals* respectively (History, 479-80).

3 Compare I.G.I., II, 144; Thomas, 47.

4 Compare Thomas, 220.

5 Compare E.D., III, 582-3, for the opinion of the *Masālik-ul-absār*; also K.R., II, 142, for the observations of Ibn Batūta. The *Masālik* definitely speaks of the identity of the *Kānī* and the *Jītal*, and of 8 *Hashtkānīs* as equal to one Tanka. Ibn Batūta mentions 8 Dirhems as equal to one '*Dīnār* of Delhi' which is a substitution of the *Hashtkānī* and *Tanka* respectively. In contradistinction to the Tanka of silver or 'the white Tanka' (*Tanka-i-Safīd*) the Jītal was called the 'Black Tanka' (*Tanka-i-Siyāh*). *Vide* T.A., I, 199. It may be mentioned in this connection that *Firishta* (text I, 199) is led to believe that the Tanka was equal to 50 Jītals. He does not, however, make a positive statement, but only confines himself to saying that people used to give 50 Jītals in exchange for a Tanka which does not indicate the standard of exchange and may have been due to local conditions of exchange.

change for a silver coin, which remained identical.[1] This '*Sikandarī Tanka*' or double-*dām* was the predecessor of the *Dām* of Akbar.[2] Taking the value of the Tanka as fixed, the 'Sikandarī Tanka' would come to $\frac{64}{20}$ or 3·2 Jītals and the '*Dām*' of Sher Shāh and Akbar or the *Bahlolī* to $\frac{64}{40}$ or 1·6 Jītals.

The relative values of copper and silver, and gold and silver were, however, changing periodically. About the time of Sher Shāh, the copper fell from 64 to 73 : 1.[3] Moreland has shown for the later period that while silver remained more or less constant (except in Bengal) the copper increased in value being 80 Gujarātī pice up to 1616 and only 60 or less from 1627 onwards. By the close of the reign of Shāh Jahān, however, it had again adjusted itself to the normal level.[4] The ratio of gold to silver which was 1 : 8 in the earlier period and had fallen to 1 : 7 after the conquest of the Deccan by 'Alā-ud-dīn had come to be 1 : 9·4 by the time of Sher Shāh.[5] These progressive changes in the relative values of copper and silver persuaded Sher Shāh to introduce certain currency reforms. He abolished the indeterminate mixture of silver and copper which had gone on before him and remodelled the whole system by a revision and adjustment of the relative values of the lower metals, silver and copper. His *Rupia* of 178 grains was thus an advance of 3 grains on the old Tanka, which it replaced.[6] The *Rupia* of Akbar was 172½ grains in weight and was identical in weight with the modern *Rupee* which contains 165 grains of pure silver.[7] The Rupee is stabilized in relation to sterling at present at one shilling and sixpence.[8]

6. *Weights and numbers.*—There was no uniformity in the standards of weight. The dealers of precious metals, the corn merchants, the dealers of scent, all had their own standards of weight, which even differed from one locality to another. To take an instance, the *Seer* according to Abu'l Fazl before the time of Akbar was sometimes 18 *Dāms* in weight, at others 22, again 28 and when Abu'l Fazl recorded it, it was 30 Dāms.[9] Under these anarchical conditions, when a uniform and equalized measure of weight or measurement was introduced by a wise ruler, the reform was considered worthy of being sung by the bards and poets.[10] The official weights under the Sultāns of

---

1 Thomas, 367. 2 *Ibid.*, 441.

3 I.G.I., IV, 514.

4 Compare Moreland, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, 182–5.

5 I.G.I., IV, 514.

6 Compare *ibid.*, I, 145-6, for the currency reforms of Sher Shāh an d their relation to the present system.

7 Moreland, India, etc., 55; also I.G.I., vi.

8 Compare I.Y.B., 1931, 869.

9 A.A., II, 60.

10 Compare Tod, II, 946, for an illustration from the history of Mārwār in the 15th century.

Delhi have been fixed at an average of 28·78 lbs. avoirdupois to a maund (*Man*) or a little over a quarter of a hundredweight or less than half a bushel of wheat.[1] The *Seers* and *Chittāks* may be calculated accordingly. This calculation, however, is based on the account of the *Masālik-ul-absār* and on the estimates of the French edition of Ibn Batūta. We do not know for certain how far it applies to the earlier and the later period. If we take the entry of Abu'l Fazl as the standard for the reign of Akbar, his maund (taking a maund equal to 40 seers) would come to 388,725 grains in weight or 55½ lbs. avoirdupois for practical purposes, or 56 lbs. or just half a cwt. for rough comparisons. So that 40 of Akbar's maunds would make a ton as against 27 of the maunds now in ordinary use.[2]

We may note here for the sake of information that a *lāc* is one hundred thousand; a million is 10 lacs; and a *kror* is 10 millions.

The purchasing power of the Tanka and the standard of incomes.—We have already referred to the difficulty of fixing the average income. We shall only recapitulate some figures for better appreciation and comparisons. Taking the wages of the slaves of Muhammad Tughluq and Fīrūz Tughluq, we may say that 10 Tankas per month was about the minimum wage for an employee of the Sultān. The soldier was paid at 19½ Tankas per month. The cost of living works out at a figure of 5 Tankas per month for the average family, if we take as a basis the evidence furnished by *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* and *Masālik-ul-absār*. All these figures, however, are obviously rough and tentative and do not take into account the bewildering variety of the incomes of various social classes.

It is similarly difficult to fix the present purchasing power of the Tanka. We have pointed out elsewhere the various factors which damage the value of figures of market prices. Considering, however, that Mr. Moreland has worked out roughly the purchasing power of the rupee of Akbar, we may say that our Tanka was, roughly speaking, twice the *Rupia* of Akbar, i.e. the Tanka provided double the amount of necessities that

---

[1] Thomas, 162.

[2] Moreland, India, etc., 53. The present official standard maund weighs 82·28 lbs. (I.G.I., II, vii). The present scale of weights used generally throughout Northern India and less commonly in Madras and Bombay may be thus expressed: one maund=40 seers; one seer=16 chittāks or 80 tolās. The actual weight of a seer varies greatly from district to district, and even from village to village; but in the standard system the tola is 180 grains Troy (the exact weight of the rupee) and the seer thus weighs 2·05 lbs. and the maund 82·28 lbs. (*Vide* I.G.I., Introduction, vii.) Thus for a rough calculation the standard maund of our period was half the standard maund of Akbar. So that we may roughly state that our maund stands in a ratio of 27 : 80 to the present maund, or 3⅓ of our maunds would be equal in weight to the present maund.

could be purchased with the silver coin of the reign of Akbar.[1] This will give to our Tanka about 12 times the purchasing power of the present *Rupee* before the Great War

---

[1] Let us consider some facts in this connection. The ratio of silver to copper has been roughly 1 : 64 ; the weight of the Tanka has been between 179 and 175 grains of pure silver in accordance with the relative value of silver and copper. The *Dām* of Akbar comes to 1$\frac{3}{5}$ times a Tanka in value or bears a ratio of 5 : 8. We know further that the maund of Akbar was about twice our maund in weight. The measure of a 'Sikandarī' yard had a very slight difference of $\frac{1}{24}$ inch in comparison with the yard of Akbar. We have fixed an average of 5 Tankas per month as the maximum average cost of living for a family. The wages of labourers, namely the bricklayers, the carpenters, the builders, the match-lockmen and the archers are given as between 5 Rupees and 1½ Rupees (*vide* Thomas, 429-30). Let us compare the prices of necessities under Akbar with those of the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī which we have taken as the norm for the period. We have reduced the prices of Akbar into Jītals :—

Commodities. (Prices per Maund).	Under Akbar.		Under 'Alā-ud-Dīn
	In Dāms.	*In Jītals.*	*In Jītals.*
1. Wheat	12	9$\frac{3}{5}$	7½
2. Wheat flour	22 to 15	12	..
3. Barley	8	6$\frac{2}{5}$	4
4. Rice	20	16	5
5. Pulses	18	14$\frac{2}{5}$	..
6. *Māsh*	16	12$\frac{4}{5}$	5
7. Grain	16½	13$\frac{1}{5}$	5
8. *Month*	12	9$\frac{3}{5}$	3
9. *Jowar*	10	8	..
10. Sugar (white) ..	128	102$\frac{2}{5}$	100
11. ,, (unrefined) ..	56	44$\frac{4}{5}$	20
12. *Ghī*	105	84	16
13. Oil	80	64	13$\frac{3}{10}$
14. Salt	16	12$\frac{4}{5}$	5
15. Meat	65	52	..
16. Mutton	54	43$\frac{1}{5}$	10

We may say that the prices of our period on the whole stand in a ratio of 1 : 2 to those of the reign of Akbar. Moreland has worked it out that a rupee of Akbar, for general purposes, would equal in purchasing power six rupees of the period before the Great War ; or, in other words, a monthly income of five rupees would provide the same quantity of necessities as could be purchased from an income of thirty rupees in 1912 (*vide* India on the death of Akbar, 56). In other words, if our calculations are not altogether misleading, we may say that a Tanka of the period under review will purchase twelve times the necessities that could be purchased with a rupee before 1914. This, of course, is a very rough calculation, but will help us to appreciate better some of the facts of economic life.

APPENDIX B.

The Chronology of the Sultāns of Delhi.

(1200–1556 *A.D.*)

Slave Kings.

A.H.		A.D.
602.	Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak	1206
607.	Ārām Shāh	1210
607.	Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish	1210
633.	Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh I	1235
634.	Raziya	1236
637.	Mu'izz-ud-din Bahrām Shāh	1239
639.	'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh	1241
644.	Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh I	1246

House of Balban.

664.	Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban	1265
686.	Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād	1287

Khaljis.

689.	Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh II	1290
695.	Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh I	1295
695.	'Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh I	1295
715.	Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar Shāh	1315
716.	Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh I	1316
720.	Nāsir-ud-din Khusrau Shāh	1320

Tughluqs.

720.	Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh I	1320
725.	Muhammad II b. Tughluq	1324
752.	Fīrūz Shāh III	1351
790.	Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh II	1388
791.	Abū Bakr Shāh Tughluq	1388
792.	Muhammad III Tughluq	1389
795.	Sikandar Shāh I Tughluq	1392
795.	Mahmūd Shāh II Tughluq	1392
797.	Nusrat Shāh (interregnum)	1394
802.	Mahmūd II Tughluq (restored)	1399
815.	Daulat Khān Lodī	1412

Sayyids.

A.H.		A.D.
817.	Khizr Khān	1414
824.	Mu'izz-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh II	1421
837.	Muhammad Shāh IV	1433
847.	'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh	1443

Lodīs.

855.	Bahlūl Lodī	1451
894.	Sikandar II b. Bahlūl	1488
923.	Ibrāhīm II b. Sikandar	1517

Mughals.

932.	Bābur	1526
937.	Humāyūn	1530

Sūrs.

946.	Sher Shāh	1539
952.	Islām Shāh	1545
960.	Three others	1552

Mughals.

962.	Humāyūn (restored)	1554
963.	Akbar	1556

APPENDIX C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*N.B.*—The texts and MSS. are shown in italics and classified under their titles and not under the authors. Where two or more MSS. are consulted they are marked I or II, etc. Abbreviations used are indicated in the margin. In the case of printed works only the surname of the author has been used, and if more than one work has been consulted it is shown by a brief title. Other publications are shown in the footnotes.]

B.M.=British Museum.

Bib. Ind =Bibliotheca Indica Series.

I.O.=India Office.

Abbreviations.	*Titles.*
A.H.	1. *Ādāb-ul-Harb* of Fakhr Mudabbir B.M. Add. 16,853.
A.M.	2. *Ādāb-ul-Mulūk*, of the same. I.O. 2767.
A.	3. 'Afīf—See *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*.
	4. Ahmed, M. G. Z.—Contribution of India to Arabic Literature. Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1929.
A.A.	5. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abu'l Fazl. 3 parts. Calcutta, 1872-3. (Bib. Ind.)
	6. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation. See Blochmann.
A.S.	7. *Āīn-i-Sikandarī* of Amīr Khusrau. Aligarh, 1917-18.
A.N.	9. *Akbar-Nāma* of Abu'l Fazl. 3 parts. Calcutta, 1877. (Bib. Ind.)
	10. *Akhrāwat* of Malik Muhammad Jāisī. Benares, 1904.
	11. Arnold, Sir T. W.—The Caliphate, Oxford, 1924.
	12. Bābur, the Memoirs of—(From the Turkish original). See Beveridge.
B.N.	13. *Bāburnāma* (*Tuzak-i-Bāburī* or *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*)—Persian translation of Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān B.M. Add. 24,416.
	14. Ball, U. N.—Mediæval India. Calcutta, 1929.
B.	15. Baranī—See *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*.
	16. Barbosa—See Duarte Barbosa.
	17. Beveridge, A. S.—The Memoirs of Bābur. 2 vols. London, 1912.
	18. Bhandarkar, R. G.—Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious Systems. Strassburg, 1913.
	19. *Bījak* of Kabīr—See Shah.
	20. *Bījak of Kabīr*—Hindi text. Bombay, 1911.

Abbreviations. *Titles.*

21. Bland, N.—The Persian game of chess. London, 1850.

22. Blochmann and Jarret—*Āin-i-Akbarī* (English trans.). 3 vols. Calcutta, 1873–94. (Bib. Ind.)

23. 'Book of the Court'—W. J. Thomas, London, 1844.

24. Bretschneider, E.—Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources. 2 vols. London, 1888.

25. Browne, E. G.—Literary History of Persia. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1928.

C.H.I. .. .. 26. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. Edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, Cambridge, 1928.

27. Carpenter, J. E.—Theism in medieval India. London, 1921.

28. Catalogue of the Indian Museum—See Victoria and Albert Museum.

29. Centenary Volume—Royal Asiatic Society, London.

30. Coomaraswami, A. K.—Rajput Paintings. 2 vols. London, 1916.

31. Coomaraswami, A. K.—Sati. London, 1913.

32. Cooper, Elizabeth—The Harim and the Purdah. London, 1915.

33. Crooke, William—Herkelots' Islam in India. London, 1921 (also Ja'far Sharīf).

34. Crooke, William—Religion and Folklore of Northern India. London, 1926.

35. Crump, L. C.—Lady of the Lotus—Rūpamatī of Ahmad-al-'Umarī. Oxford, 1928.

D.R. .. .. 36. *Dewal Rānī Khizr Khān* of Amīr Khusrau. Aligarh, 1917–19.

D.H. .. .. 37. *Dīwān-i-Hasan-i-Dehlavī* of Amīr Hasan. B.M. Add. 24,952.

D.K. .. .. 38. *Dīwān-i-Khusrau* of Amīr Khusrau. B.M. 25,807.

39. Dow, Alexander—The History of Hindustan. London, 1770–2.

40. Duarte Barbosa, The Book of—(Hakluyt Society). 2 vols. London, 1918–21.

41. Elliot, Sir H. M.—Bibliographical Index, etc. Calcutta, 1849.

E.D. .. .. 42. Elliot and Dowson—The History of India, etc. 6 vols. London, 1867–73.

43. Elphinstone Monstuart—The History of India. 9th Edition. London, 1905.

E.I. .. .. 44. Encyclopedia of Islam—in progress. London, 1913.

E.R.E. .. .. 45. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics—(Ed. Hasting James). 12 vols. Edinburgh, 1915.

Abbreviations	*Titles.*
	46. Erskine, W.—Babur and Humayun. 2 vols. London, 1854.
	47. Ethe Hermann—Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the library of the India Office.
	48. Extracts—from 16 MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. B.M. Or. 1838.
F.J.	49. *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī* of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī. I.O. 1149.
F.F.	50. *Fiqh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. I.O. 2987.
	51. Flugel—Concordance to Koran and text.
	52. Forbes, Duncan—Observations on the origin and progress of Chess. London, 1855.
	53. Frampton, John—Marco Polo (from the Elizabethan translation of John Frampton) together with the travels of Nicolo Conti (Ed. N. N. Penzer). London, 1929.
F.	54. *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. B.M. Or. 2039.
	55. Ghani, M. A.—A history of Persian language and literature, etc. Allahabad, 1929.
	56. Ghoshal, U. N.—A history of Hindu political theories. Madras, 1927.
	57. Ghoshal, U. N.—Agrarian System in ancient India. Calcutta, 1930.
	58. Ghoshal, U. N.—Contributions to the history of Hindu Revenue System. Calcutta, 1929.
	59. Gibb, H. A. R.—Ibn Batuta, London, 1929.
	60. Grant James—An enquiry into the nature of Zamindari tenures. Second edition. London.
	61. Greevan, R.—The Heroes Five—Allahabad, 1898.
	62. Grierson, Sir G. A.—The Monotheistic religion of ancient India, a paper. London, 1908.
	63. Grierson, Sir G. A.—Bihar peasant life. Calcutta, 1885.
	64. Grierson and Barnett—Lalla Vakyani. London, 1920.
	65. Growse, F. S.—Mathura—a district memoir. Second Ed. Calcutta, 1880.
G.	66. Gulbadan Begum—See *Hamāyūn Nāma*.
	67. Gupta, J. N. Das—Bengal in the sixteenth century. Calcutta, 1914.
H.U.	68. Harmsworth's Universal History of the World. London, 1928-9.
H.B.	69. *Hasht-Bihisht* of Amīr Khusrau. Aligarh, 1918.
	70. Havell, E. B.—The History of Aryan rule in India. London, 1918.

Abbreviations.	*Titles.*
	71. Havell, E. B.—A short history of India. London, 1924.
	72. Havell, E. B.—Indian architecture. London, 1915.
H.R.	73. *Hidāyat-ur-Rāmī* of Sayyid Mīr. B.M. Add. 26,306.
	74. Hindustan Review, The—Calcutta (Periodical).
	75. Hindustan Review—The place of Coins. R. Burn, a reprint. Allahabad, 1905.
	76. Hobbes, Leviathan (Ed. W. G. Pogson Smith). Oxford, 1909.
	77. Holy Qur'ān—See Qur'ān.
	78. Huart, Clement—Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization. Trans. R. Dobie, London, 1927.
	79. Hughes, T. P.—Dictionary of Islam, London, 1885.
	80. *Humāyūn Nāma* of Gulbadan Begum. Text with Trans. (Ed. A. S. Beveridge). London, 1902.
	81. *Humāyūn Nāma* of Khvānd Mīr. B.M. Or. 1762.
I.K.	82. *I'jāz-i-khusravī* of Amīr Khusrau. 5 parts. Lucknow, 1875-6.
I.G.I.	83. Imperial Gazetteer of India. Oxford, 1908.
I.Y.B.	84. Indian Year Book. Times Press. Bombay, 1931.
I.N.	85. *Inshā' Nāma* of Shāh Tāhir Al-Husainī. B.M. Harl. 499.
	86. Iqbal, Sir Muhammad—Payām-i-Mashriq. Lahore, 1924.
	87. Irwin, E.—The incomparable game of Chess. London, 1820.
I.C.	88. Islamic Culture, The—Hyderabad (Periodical).
	89. Jacolliat, L.—Occult science in India —(Tr. W. L. Felt). London, 1884.
	90. Ja'far Sharīf—*Qānūn-i-Islām.* See Crooke's Herklot's Islam, etc.
	91. Jain, L. C.—Indigenous banking in India. London, 1929.
J.H.	92. *Jawāmi'-ul-Hikāyāt* of Muhammad 'Awfī. B.M. 16, 862 (I); Or. 236 (II); Or 1734 (III).
	93. Johnson—Persian Dictionary. London, 1582.
J.A.S.B.	94. Journal of—The Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
J.D.L.	95. Journal of—The Department of Letters. Calcutta University.
J.I.H.	96. Journal of—Indian History. Allahabad.
J.R.A.S.	97. Journal of—The Royal Asiatic Society. London.
	98. Journal of—The United Provinces Historical Society. Calcutta.

Abbreviations.		*Titles.*
	99.	Keay—Kabir and Kabir Panthis, etc. 1922. London University. Thesis.
K.F.	100.	*Khazāin-ul-Futūh* of Amīr Khusrau. B.M. Add. 16, 838; Or. 1700 (II).
K.	101.	Khvānd Mīr—*See Hamāyūn Nāma.*
K.N.K.	102.	*Kitāb-i-Ni'mat Khāna-i-Nāsir Shāhī.* I.O. 149.
K.R.	103.	*Kitāb-ur-Rahla of Ibn Batūta.* 2 vols. Cairo, 1870-1.
	104.	Kovalevsky, Maxime—Modern Customs and ancient laws of Russia. London, 1891.
	105.	Krappe, A. H.—The science of Folklore. London, 1930.
	106.	Kremer von—Orient under the Caliphs (Trans. S. Khuda Bakhsh). Calcutta, 1920.
K.K	107.	*Kulliyāt-i-Khusrau* of Amīr Khusrau. B.M. Add. 21,104.
	108.	Lalla the word of—See Temple.
	109.	Lalla Vakyani—See Grierson and Barnett.
	110.	Lanepoole Stanley—Medieval India under Muhammadan rule. London, 1903.
	111.	Le Bon Gustave—Les Civilisations de l'Inde (Urdu Trans. Sayyid Ali Bilgrami). Agra, 1913.
	112.	*Letters of Muhammad II and Bāyazīd II of Turkey.* B.M. Or. 61.
	113.	Ludovic Varthema—The Travels of. London, 1863.
	114.	Lybyer, A. H.—The Government of the Ottoman Empire, etc. Cambridge Mass, 1913.
	115.	Macauliffe, M. A.—The Sikh religion. 6 vols. Oxford, 1909.
	116.	*Majālis-ul-Muminīn* of Nūr Allāh Al-Shustari. I.O. 1400.
	117.	*Majmū't-ul-Murāsilāt* of 'Alī Haider. B.M. Add. 7,688.
	118.	Major—India in the fifteenth century. London, 1857.
M.	119.	*Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī* (Autobiography of Tīmūr). B.M. Or. 158.
	120.	Marco Polo, The Book of Ser—See Yule.
M.A.	121.	*Matla'-ul-Anwār* of Amīr Khusrau. Lucknow, 1884.
	122.	*Memoirs of Bāyazīd*—See B. P. Saxena.
	123.	*Memoirs of Muhammad Tughluq*—a fragment. B.M. Add. 25,785.
	124.	Mill, James—The History of British India (Vols. 1 and 2). London, 1840.
	125.	Mirza, M. W.—Life and works of Amīr Khusrau, 1929. London University. Thesis.

Abbreviations.	*Titles.*
	126. *Miscellaneous Extracts* (from Persian MSS.). B.M. Or. 1858.
	127. Modern Review, The—Calcutta (Periodical).
	128. Moreland, W. H.—The Agrarian System of Moslem India. Cambridge, 1929.
	129. Moreland, W. H.—India at the death of Akbar. London, 1920.
	130. Moreland, W. H.—From Akbar to Aurangzeb. London, 1923.
	131. Morgan, L. W.—Ancient Society. New York, 1877.
	132. Muir, Sir William—The Caliphate. London, 1891.
	133. Mulla, D. F.—Principles of Hindu Law, 3rd edition. Bombay, 1929.
	134. Mulla, D. F.—Principles of Muhammadan Law, 9th edition. Bombay, 1929.
M.T. ..	.. 135. *Muntakhabu-'t-Tawārīkh* of Al Badaunī. Calcutta, 3 parts (Bib. Ind.).
	136. Muslim Review, The—Calcutta (Periodical).
	137. *Nasā'ih Nizām-ul-Mulk*. B.M. Or. 256.
	138. Nieboer, H. J.—Slavery as an Industrial System. 2nd Ed. The Hague, 1910.
	139. Notices et Extracts de Manuscripts de la Bibliotheque du Roi. Tome XIII. Paris, 1838.
	140. Oman, J. C.—Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India. London, 1908.
	141. Outline of Modern Knowledge. Ed-William Rose. London, 1931.
P.B. ..	.. 142. *Padāvali Bangiya* of Vidyāpati Thākur (Tr. Coomaraswami and Arun Sen). London, 1915.
P. ..	.. 143. *Padumāvat* of Malik Muhammad Jāisī (Bib. Ind). Ed. Grierson and Dvivedī. Calcutta, 1911.
P. (hin) ..	.. 144. *Padumāvat*—Hindi text. Calcutta, 1896.
	145. *Padumāvat*—Urdu Translation. Cawnpore, 1899.
	146. Pero Tefur—Travels and adventures (Tr. Malcolm Letts). London, 1926.
	147. Pillai, Swamikarna—Indian Ephemeris. 6 vols. Madras, 1922.
	148. Prasad, Ishwari—History of Medieval India. Allahabad, 1925.
P.P. ..	.. 149. *Purush Pariksha* of Vidyāpati Thākur (Tr. R. Nerukar). Bombay.
	150. Qanungo, Kalika Ranjan—Sher Shah. Calcutta, 1921.

Abbreviations.	*Titles.*
Q.	151. *Qasā'id* of Badr Chāch. Cawnpore, 1877.
Q.S.	152. *Qirānu's-Sa'dain* of Amīr Khusrau. Lucknow, 1845.
	153. Qur'ān Holy (Text, translation and commentary) Maulvi Muhammad Ali. London, 1917.
	154. Raverty—See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*.
	155. Rawlinson, H. G.—Five Great Monarchies. 3 vols. London, 1871.
	156. Rawlinson, H. G.—Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy. London, 1876.
	157. Rieu—Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.
R.I.	158. *Riyāz-ul-Inshā'* of Mahmūd Gāwān. B.M. Or. 1739.
	159. Ross, Sir E. Denison—Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur.
	160. Ross, Sir E. Denison—Hindu-Muhammadan Feasts. Calcutta, 1914.
S.S.S.	161. *Sahāif Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn*—I.O. 2169.
	162. Salzmann, L. F.—English life in the middle ages. Oxford, 1926.
	163. Sarda, Har Bilas—Maharana Kumbha. Ajmere, 1917.
	164. Sarda, Har Bilas—Maharana Sanga. Ajmere, 1918.
	165. Saxena, B. P.—*Memoirs of Bāyazid*. Allahabad, 1929.
	166. Sayyid Ahmad Khān—*Āsār-us-Sanādīd*. 2nd Ed. Delhi, 1854.
	167. Senart, Emile—Caste in India (Tr. Sir E. Denison Ross). London, 1930.
	168. Shah, Ahmad—The Bījak of Kabīr, Hamirpur, 1917.
	169. Shastri, R. S.—Evolution of Indian polity. Calcutta, 1920.
	170. Sidī 'Alī Reīs—See Vambery.
	171. Singh, Puran—The Book of the Ten Masters. London, 1926.
	172. Sircar, Jadunath—Chaitanya's pilgrimages and teachings. Calcutta, 1913.
	173. Slater, Gilbert—The Dravidian element in Indian Culture. London, 1924.
	174. Smith, Vincent—The Oxford History of India 2nd Edition. Oxford, 1923.
S.	175. Speculum, The—Journal of Mediæval studies. Cambridge, Mass.
	176. Sprenger Aloys—A literary desiderata, etc. London, 1840.
	177. *Sudāmacharitra*—of Narottama Kavya. Delhi, 1876.

Abbreviations.		*Titles.*
	178.	Sykes, Sir Percy—A history of Persia. 2 vols. 3rd Edition. London, 1930.
T.A.	179.	*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad (Bib. Ind). Vol. I. Calcutta.
	180.	*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*—text. Lucknow, 1875.
T.N.	181.	*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Minhāj-us-Sirāj. B.M. 26,189.
	182.	*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Eng. Trans. by Major Raverty. London, 1873.
	183.	*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* as edited by Nassau Lees, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1864.
T.M.	184.	*Tāj-ul-Maāsir* of Hasan Nizāmī—B. MS. Add. 7,623 (I); Or. 163 (II); Add. 24, 951 (III): Add. 7, 624 (IV).
	185.	*Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*—See *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*.
T.B.	186.	*Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī* of Mas'ūd (Ed. W. H. Morley). Bib. Ind. Calcutta.
T.D.	187.	*Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* of Abdullah. B.M. Or. 197.
T.F.M.	188.	*Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh* (Ed. Sir E. Denison Ross). London, 1927.
T.F.	189.	*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, 2 vols. (Briggs and Khairāt 'Ali.) Bombay, 1831.
	190.	*Tārīkh-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī. (Edited Sayyid Ahmad.) Calcutta, 1891. Bib. Ind.
	191.	*Tārīkh-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī. B.M. Or. 2039.
	192.	*Tārīkh-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf. (Edited Wilayat Husain.) Bib. Ind. Calcutta.
T.G.	193.	*Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* of Hamdulla Mustaufī. (Edited E. G. Browne.) London, 1910.
T.J.K.	194.	*Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā* of 'Alā-ud-dīn Juwainī (Gibb Memorial Fund). London, 1912.
T.M.S.	195.	*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* of Yahya ibn Ahmad Sirhindi. B.M. Or. 1,673.
	196.	*Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī*—See *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*.
	197.	*Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī*. B.M. Add. 26,279.
	198.	*Tārīkh-i-Nāsir Shāhī*. B.M. Or. 1803.
T.S.S.	199.	*Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* of 'Abbās Khān Sherwānī. B.M. Or. 164.
	200.	*Tārīkh-i-Sindh* of Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm. B.M. Add. 24,091.
	201.	Taylor Carl C.—Rural Sociology. New York, 1926.

Abbreviations.	*Titles.*
T.I. ..	.. 202. *Tajziyat-ul-Amsār* of Abdullāh Wassāf. B.M. Add. 23,517 (I); Add. 7,625 (II).
T.W. ..	.. 203. *Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt* of Jauhar Āftāb-chī. B.M. Add. 16,711.
	204. Temple, Sir Richard C.—The word of Lalla. Cambridge, 1924.
	205. Thomas, Edward—The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi. London, 1871.
	206. Thomas, F. W.—Mutual influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India. Cambridge, 1892.
	207. Thomas, W. J.—See 'Book of the Court'.
	208. Titus, M. T.—Indian Islam. Madras, 1930.
	209. Tod, James—Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan—Ed. W. Crooke.
T.N. (h) ..	.. 210. *Tughluqnāma* of Amīr Khusrau (Maulvi Hashmi of Hyderabad).
T. ..	.. 211. *Tuhfa-i-Nasāi'h* of Yūsuf Gadā. I.O. 2194. 3 vols. London, 1923.
	212. Underhill, M. N.—The Hindu religious year. Madras, 1921.
	213. Vambery, A.—Sidī 'Alī Reis, Travels and adventures of a Turkish admiral. London, 1899.
	214. Varthema—See Ludovic Varthema.
	215. Victoria and Albert Museum—Brief Guide. London, 1929.
	216. Visva-Bharati, The—Bolpur (India) periodical.
W.M. ..	.. 217. *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* of Rizq-Ullāh Mushtāqī. B.M. Add. 11,633.
	218. Wensinck—Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition. Leyden.
	219. Yule, Sir Henry—The Book of Ser Marco Polo. 2 vols. London, 1903.
	220. Yusuf Ali, A.—Hindūstān Ke Ma'āsh-ratī hālāt (Urdu). Allahabad, 1928.
	221. Yusuf Ali, A.—The making of India. London, 1925.
	222. *Zād-ul-Ma'ād.* B.M. Or. 3207.
Z.N. ..	.. 223. *Zafarnāma* of Sharf-ud-dīn 'Alī Yazdī. B.M. Add. 25,024.
Z.N.K. ..	.. 224. *Zafarnāma-i-Khāqānī* of Nizām Shāmī. B.M. Add. 23,980.
Z.W. ..	.. 225. *Zafarul Walih,* etc.—An Arabic History of Gujarāt (Ed. Sir E. Denison Ross). London, 1921–8.
	226. Zakā Ullāh—Tārīkh-i-Hindūstān (Urdu). 3 vols. Delhi, 1875.
Z.M. ..	.. 227. *Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk* of Shaikh Hamadānī. B.M. Add. 7,618.

INDEX

A

Abd-ur-Razzāq, Persian Ambassador, 22-3.
Abu'l Fazl, on metal workers, 109, 111; division of the *Satis*, 160; items of female toilet, 181.
Acrobats, jugglers, mountebanks, etc., 205.
Ādāb-ul-mulūk of Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, 21.
Aheria, spring hunt, 189.
Ahimsa, non-violence, 226.
Ahl-i-daulat, ruling class, 71.
Ahl-i-murād, class catering for pleasures, 71.
Ahl-i-sa'ādat or the intelligentsia, 71.
Aīn-i-Akbarī of Abu'l Fazl, 10, 12-3.
A'izza, foreigners in Hindustan, 78.
Akbar, Mughal Emperor, on age of marriage, 150; his interference in widow-burning, 160; on regulated use of drinks, 219.
Akbar-nāma of Abu'l Fazl, 10.
'Alams, royal standards, 61.
'Ala-ud-dīn Khaljī, his conquering spirit, 34; employment of slaves, 51; introduction of Indian element in the state, 78; control of Delhi market, 106, 117; employment of masons, 111; suppression of commercial dishonesty and business frauds, 119; gifts by, 126-7; on pay of a soldier and village headman, 130-1; prostitution, 220; suppression of drinking, 218.
Amīr, title of honour, 73, 76.
Amīr-i-ākhur or *Ākhur-bak*, master of royal stables, 155.
Amīr Khusrau, on historical value of his works, with remarks, 13; theologians as a class, 85; flowers of the land, 101; use of sugarcanes in the manufacture of drinks, 103; excellence of Bengal manufactures, 208; masons and stone-cutters of Delhi, 111; use of paper in Delhi, 113; choice of a friend, 211.
Amusements and recreations, 284.
Aqtā', title of honour, 74.
Arab geographers, knowledge of India and China, 3-4.
Asad Khān, charity of, 215.
Astrologers, 152.
Aurangzib, Mughal Emperor, 4.

B

Bābur, memoirs of, 9; on the defeat and *Jauhar* of Mendī Rai of Chanderi, 162; Indian rural population, 163; description of Hindustan, with remarks, 330.
Badr-i-chāch, 18.
Bahlolī, coin, 240.
Bairam Khān and Abu'l Qāsim, friendship between, 212.
Bakhtyār Khaljī, 34.
Balban, Sultan, 33, 51, 77, 84.
Bandagān-i-Khās, royal slaves, 50.
Bār, court, 63.
Bārbak, official, 65, 67–9.
Barbosa, traveller, 22, 108, 110, 122.
Basant Panchamī, festival, 198.
Bāyazīd, memoirs of, 9; letters of, 24.
Bāz Bahādur and Rūpāmatī, story of, 18.
Bhāts of Rajputana, caravan guides, 117.
Bibliography, 246.
Bughrā Khān, advice to his son, 84, 86; his gift to him, 102.

C

Cāravānīs or Banjārās, business community, 116-7.
Card play, 196.
Caste system and the theory of *Dharma*, 31.
Castes in Hindu society in the early Muslim period, 93.
Ceremonials instituted by the Sultans of Delhi, 39.
Chaitanya, 19.
Chandal-mandal, game, 296.
Chandī Dās, poet, 18.
Charity, 214.
Chāshnīgīr, official, 54.
Chatr and *Dūrbāsh*, symbols of royalty, 59.

Chaupar, game, 195.
Chess, 194.
Child birth and his education, 148-9.
City of contemporary Hindustan described, 166.
Coins, 339.
Conti, Nicolo, traveller, 22; on number of castes, 93; use of paper in Gujarat, 113; bride's choice between *suttee* or surrender of dowry, 159.
Conversation, 223.
Conveyances, 174.
Cosmetics, toilets, and ornaments, 179.
Cost of living, 136.
Court etiquette, 64.
Court-poets, 52.
Crown and throne, symbols of royalty, 58.
Crown lands or *milk*, 56.

D

Daglā, overcoat, 175.
Dancing and singing, 204.
Dasehrā, festival, 199.
Davāt-dār, official, 69.
Death ceremony, 153.
Delhi kingdom, varying territorial extent of, 05.
Delhi Sultans, chronology of, 244.
Delhiwāls, coins, 240.
Deogir, central capital in the south, 105, 237; centre of cloth manufacture, 107.
Dewalrānī Khizr Khān, 14, 49.
Dharma, significance of the term, 208.
Divālī, festival, 199.
Domestic events, 148.
Domestic life, 138.
Domestic pets, 173.
Domestic servant or slave, life of, 131.
Domestics and slaves 135.
Dresses and clothes, 175.
Drinking, 216.
Dyeing industry, 109.

E

Economic life, standard of, 104.
Elephants and hoards of bullion, 61.

F

Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, 42.
Farghul, fur-coat, 175.
Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī of Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, 21.
Fiqh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, 21.
Fīrūz Tughluq, his attitude towards slaves, 51; laying of gardens, 101; patronage in masonry work, 111; on business rules and practice of brokers, 117; royal stores of his time, 125; prohibition of luxuries, 173; hunting party, 190.
Flower culture, 101.
Food, 182.
Foreign merchants in Hindustan, 124.
Foreign trade, 120.
Frampton, John, his idea of India, 4.
Fruit culture, 101.
Furniture, 173.

G

Gandha Bāniks, scent merchants, 103.
Garden laying, 101.
Gujarat, centre of cloth manufacture, 109.
Gujarātī Baniās, business community, 116.
Gulbadan Begum, memoirs of, 09, 143.

H

Hājī Dabīr, historian, 10, 143.
Hājib, official, 67–9.
Hamira Deva, Rajput chief, 213.
Haram, 47, 143.
Hidāyat-ur-rāmi, 20.
Hijrah year and months, 238.
Hindu dresses, 177.
Hindu festivals, 197.
Hindu lunar month, 238.
Hindu manners, 225.
Hindu order, upset by the Muslim impact, 7.
Hindu society, distinctive feature of, 92.
Hindu women, 225.
Hindustan, territory of, 105-6.
Hindustan on the eve of Akbar, 228.
Holi, festival, 198.
Home industries, 103.
Horses, demand for the supply of, 121, 123.
Houses of nobles, 171.
Houshold staff of a Sultan, 154.